



A CANADA-U.S. POLL: HOW DIFFERENT WE ARE



CANADA'S

NEWSMAGAZINE

Macleans

NOVEMBER 4, 1996



Winning Ways

Charisma, luck
and a surging economy
have Bill Clinton
poised for re-election



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Winning Ways

Clinton, luck and a boom economy have U.S. President Bill Clinton poised for a return to power next week. The role of the "latter days" in the campaign has been crucial. Given Clinton's commanding lead, the hottest news are for control of the Congress.



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Barbara Prum was the face of the CBC to most Canadians. Daughter Linda's book reveals the private side of a public icon.



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How different we are

A poll of 6,000 Canadians and Americans on politics and religion reveals how the two societies differ. Canada is kinder, gentler—and worried about jobs.

From The Editor

Le basket case

A friend took a friend to listen to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien speak in Montreal last week. The friend is a francophone, an ardent separatist. His friend was what he describes as a "pink separatist." The PS had never before seen Chrétien in action, deprecating for his opinions an apologetic report. The PS came away impressed. He thought that Chrétien's warnings about how political uncertainty was hurting the Montreal economy were well placed, particularly since the PS has children about to graduate into the labor force.

One caveat does not a legend establish. But there definitely is something going on in Quebec—and it has the separatists on the run. Support for the Bloc Québécois (federal separatist party) is dropping in their home province, while the federal Liberals are on the rise. The governing provincial Parti Québécois is being led by economic woes and least by demands that it declare a moratorium on yet another referendum—a view endorsed by Montreal Mayor Pierre Bourque.

New evidence of the mood comes this week in an exclusive Angus Reid Group poll appearing in this week's cover package (page 36). Fully 61 percent of Quebecers said that jobs were their number 1 concern, the highest level of anxiety expressed in any region on the continent. It was almost double the level in British Columbia and Alberta; roughly 20 points higher than Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario, even 10 points higher than Atlantic Canada, and much higher than in any part of the United States. Says pollster Angus Reid: "Quebec stands out like a sore thumb in North America. It illustrates the urgency of the Quebec economic situation. Even if it is difficult, it is in jeopardy."

It is hardly surprising that Quebecers are more worried about jobs than they are about national unity (43 per cent listed unity as the top issue). They are just like other people in Canada, concerned about security for themselves and their families. But what



also is fascinating about the poll is that relatively the same percentages of people across the regions of Canada feel strongly about national unity and Quebec as the number 2 issue—ranging from 36 percent in British Columbia to about 45 percent in Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic.

What doesn't add up? One thing is clear—the first Ministers have been given an excellent opportunity to link the economy and the national unity issues and to make a strategic attempt at national reconciliation. It is obvious that the Quebec situation is hurting the whole country, not just that province. The rest of Canada has a stake in resolving the impasse. Several premiers rightly have urged action. Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow says that it is time for Canada to recognize Quebec's distinct character. New Brunswick's Francis McKeown agrees, as does Newfoundland's Brian Tobin.

But if a serious commitment has any chance, it will need support from Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. The premiers in British Columbia and Ontario have already seen how predecessors—NDP's Mike Harcourt and Liberal David Peterson—screwed themselves by appearing to give up the ship in Quebec. Alberta's Ralph Klein wants to poll his electorate before heading once again into any potential constitutional quagmire. Ontario's Mike Harris has rejected an attempt by Chrétien a year ago to rally support for a series of measures designed to take the steam out of separatism. In the months ahead, the premiers and Chrétien have a golden opportunity to try again. It is a task that is easier said than done. It will require a subtle balancing of all-conflicting interests. It will demand courage on the part of political leaders and a high level of tolerance on the part of citizens in all regions. Above all, it will take a leap of faith that the time is right for one more effort.

Robert Levis

Newsroom Notes:

Two nations

A long-time drinking political and religious differences between the United States and Canada that emerge from the poll results in this week's cover package: there is a remarkable level of religious belief among Canadians, even if it is overshadowed by American commitment. Overall, levels of belief in Canada



Marshall: a new nation of Canada emerges

have remained essentially unchanged from those found in a ground-breaking poll conducted for *Maclean's* by the same pollster, the Angus Reid Group. That poll, the focus of a widely cited April 12, 1998, cover package titled "God is Alive," dispelled the

notion that Canada was becoming a godless society. Observes *Maclean's* Managing Editor Robert Marshall, who co-wrote both poll projects:

"Now, a new notion of Canada emerges, one of a nation that does not wear its religion on its sleeve, but which arguably is a kinder society than the one to the south." Attitudes towards medicine and social assistance are one indicator. "But the new numbers," says Marshall, "also show that Canadians are less likely to resist or hound neighbors of their own race, for instance, or to believe that immigration should be reduced."

This week's poll report, written by Senior Writer Rae Carelli to accompany coverage of the U.S. campaign, was designed by Associate Art Director Gaille Sabatini.

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Christine and Harro: same premiers act like schoolboys who can't have their way

Parochialism

As an older citizen, I have watched Ontario premiers of every political stripe act like schoolboys ("The secret summit," "Cover, Oct. 20). Ontario Premier Mike Harris's behaviour only confirms what I already believed—he is no statesman.

Paul Miles,
Toronto

The British North America Act of 1867 doubtfully gave exclusive rights over education to the provinces. Canada is the only cultured country that does not put education in the jurisdiction of the central power of government. I attended parochial school in Montreal from 1933 to 1940 and we were taught that the bad guys were the English who expelled the Acadians in 1755, the greatness of New France was emphasized—Champlain, the fur-trading explorers. Montcalm was portrayed as a hero, not Wolfe. Mike Harris, if educated outside Quebec, was taught the opposite view of our history. Many Canadians are tired of the backing of most of our

primaries, some of whom act like schoolboys who can't have their way. This charade must stop. Most Canadians want a united Canada and may be forced to rally a grassroots counterrevolution against Harro, Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and B.C. Premier Glen Clark.

Paul F. R. Stenhouse,
Retired justice, Ontario Court
General Division,
Timewick, Ont.

No tanks

In your Oct. 20 issue, you have a photograph of an armed personal carrier with a caption reading "Tank crew in CFB Calgary" ("The hottest guy on the block," "Cover, Oct. 20). The various classes of armored fighting vehicles all have specialized functions, resulting in different names for each. For your magazine to continually lump all AFVs under the catch-all term "tanks" is a regrettable lapse of accuracy.

Andrew Nido,
Guelph, Ont.

Not just a kiss

Fred Bruning is quite right in his observation that it is not fair to require a one-year-old as a sexual harasser for pecking another nine-year-old on the cheek ("Come overboard on sexual harassment," "An American View," Oct. 20). But, strangely, he claims that all of the current hysteria comes about not through political correctness, but through something Bruning vaguely defines as "anxiety" and "being afraid of one another." Bruning accurately notes the harm caused by an increasingly litigious society, but he fails to acknowledge the fact that politically correct ideology has a lot to do with this sad state of affairs.

Christopher Handone,
Newmarket, Ont.

Bruning's column deals with a couple of silly overreactions by some school authorities and with Americans' fear of being sued for harassment. Americans at least have the right to sue for harassment. For Canadians, the solution is not an unclear one. Also, the American media expose such absurdities. Does this happen in Canada? Unless a Canadian is lucky enough to allege being kissed

In all seriousness

In "Small-screen diya vs." (Broadcasting, Sept. 30), you refer to the Office of Scientific Investigation and Research, the investigative group that has studied its case files for my show as "a U.S. government organization." The group is not government affiliated, although it has been engaged by numerous government agencies to handle matters of logic-defying phenomena. The group is a network of approximately 400 scientists, academics and researchers who are assigned to each case depending upon how their individual disciplines apply. As for the suggestion that the show would be "pretty hard to take seriously," scientists, religious practitioners, law enforcement and government departments from all over the world have taken the group seriously enough to engage them since the mid-1950s.

Don Aykroyd,
Los Angeles

by a politician and/or get lots of media coverage by starting a witch hunt, their only recourse is through the Human Rights Commission. Do you know that in Ontario one can wait more than two years between the submission of a formal complaint and the beginning of an investigation? Americans wouldn't stand for it. Maybe Canada's right to a sound of inquiry instead of a day in court is a false and costly grievance, blocked by bureaucracy, expense and the years through which Canadians have to fight to keep their cases alive. Harassment responses in America may have some silly extremes, but the Canadian media shouldn't be using about it.

Barbara J. Gayell,
Toronto

A Black eye

Clayton Black's empire is (so far) smaller than you seem to think it is ("A lawsuit takes over at The Citizen," "Opinion News," Oct. 20). The *Windsor Free Press* is still owned by Thomson Newspapers, not by companies under the control of Black So, to write as you did that Black had "plucked" me from the editorship of *TV Guide* to become editor of the *Free Press* was at least premature. In fact, *Windsor Free Press* publisher Barry Anderson did the plucking. I am also aware that Thomson Newspapers has no intention of selling the *Free Press*. But, perhaps you know something we don't.

Richard Hines,
Toronto

behind this symbol of quality



Quality Control Supervisor
Gay Lea Foods Co-operative Limited
Guelph, Ontario

is Ann Roberts

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Maclean's welcomes readers' views. But letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply names, addresses and daytime telephone or fax number. Submissions may appear in Maclean's discretion only.

Job-creation myth

With regard to the spread report dealing with job creation by the federal government, it seems clear that you still subscribe to the discarded theory that government can create jobs ("The best is yet to be," Oct. 7). Governments by their very nature create bureaucracies, not jobs. Here we already logoped or perhaps even clearly understand the lesson of the current collapse of the great industrial nations in history.



Magna print plant: outsourcing

The work led us to socialist state intervention and control as exhibited by the former Soviet Union should open all our eyes to economic reality. In the early 1970s, the federal government decided to take the country into massive debt for the first time since the war years. Why? It was felt at the time that the government needed to do something about the unemployment problem. Every decade year since then we have continued on this same course: still we find ourselves in a tailspin in the debt. Massive reduction in taxes and government spending is the only way we will ever extricate ourselves from this monumental mess. I for one have had enough of government assistance in creating jobs. So would you.

David Philpott
Richmond, B.C.

Martian discovery

To parent, I have been intensely interested with Mars's coverage of technology issues, space science in particular but "The neighbor" (Boxer, Oct. 34) contains a glowing error worthy of mention. Mars was not "discovered" by Galileo; it can be seen so clearly any clear night, and naked-eye observations of Mars are recorded in ancient literature.

Edward Mayer, impact Bruce Woodell
Bendheim, Pa.

Sales pitch

Of printing executives and publishing publisher Mark Cavallaro, your article says, "The idea to pitch his elegant to newspapers, because the folks lower down

used to feel threatened by the outsourcing phenomenon" ("Is your job safe?" Cover, Sept. 30). I would suggest that there are other reasons why he prefers to deal with senior executives. First, there are folks in the upper echelons of most companies who don't have a clue how the entire portion of their company's business is conducted. These folks are the more likely to fall for a slick sales pitch. Second, if a middle manager makes a bad deal, the mistake was not repeated; if a vice-president signs a bad contract, the mistake was the decision. Out sourcing is not necessarily a bad idea, but it's a step in which all stakeholders have to be consulted.

Tim Fry
Trent, B.C.

Threat to 'have-nots'

I am a Grade 13 student at Bishop McNally High School in Calgary, and I am writing in response to "On the offensive," (Canada, Sept. 3). I disagree with the Conservative party that Ottawa should withdraw from social programs completely. The "have-not" provinces would only lose if the federal government removed itself from health-care contributions. Sure, provinces such as Alberta and Ontario might benefit, but how could we continue to call ourselves a whole country, knowing that we could be denying health care to fellow Canadians? We all have the same rights and privileges and should be offered identical health-care programs no matter where in Canada we choose to live.

Sharon Bell
Calgary

Conflict in the church

Your article on my attempted delisting at the behest of the United Church captured some but not all of the sheer lack of credibility of the church ("The United Church confronts an activist," Canada, Sept. 30). The demand that I undertake a psychiatric examination, on which the church has built much of its argument, was in fact dropped completely by church negotiators, only to be revived seven months later after I went public with my case. It is, then, false, dishonest and misleading for the church to claim that it had a serious con-

cern about my mental stability when it clearly was using the demand for a psychiatric examination as a disciplinary measure. I also question the validity of the church case against me when only two months after my dismissal, I was told that all the demands on me from Presbytery would be dropped if I left British Columbia and sought employment elsewhere in the church. Perhaps it's time that church officials simply admitted that it seemed to get rid of a dissident. Such honesty would be a welcome change.

Rev. Ross Annett
Vancouver

As a supporter of Rev. Ross Annett, letter writer Jonathan Wade is mistaken on a number of points ("Clerical delusion," The Mail, Sept. 30). While it is true that the B.C. Conference concourse secretary, Rev. Brian Thorpe, is being called as a witness at the Annett hearing, he is not being called to "witness against" Annett, but to give testimony regarding the processes used by the United Church that have preceded this hearing. Wade is in error that Mr. Thorpe recommended the names of panel members it was the B.C. Conference subcommittee who appointed those members. Mr. Annett was not branded "a psychiatric case" nor should the direction he was given be characterized as a "factor to minimize." In fact, Presbytery felt Mr. Annett would benefit from a psychiatric assessment in order to plan for his future and because they were concerned for his emotional stability. And finally, while it is understandable that such statements develop, it may also be argued that if the church were not to exercise the oversight it exercises in Presbyteries, then surely might well sanction a far failing to provide adequate supervision of its ministry personnel.

Marjorie Davis
Manager, public relations and information,
The United Church of Canada,
Toronto

Cost of living

In my estimate, the article "To rent or to buy?" (Personal Finance, Oct. 7) didn't provide the full story. The analysis based simply on monthly mortgage payments does not include all the real—and large—costs of owning not secured by a mortgage. The fictional Ottawa couple would incur monthly costs in property taxes and would also be liable for maintenance and repairs. Now, let's calculate the income a couple choosing to rent would earn over 25 years on their down payment of \$15,000. I must confess surprise that a lobby voice for the mortgage industry would have caused all these additional costs in their comparison.

Doree Davis
Cambridge, Ont.

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Barbara Amiel

Cherchez la femme in the presidential race

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This U.S. election campaign has many strange aspects to it, but one is pretty consistent. Both candidates' wives are harriers. They put me in mind of a remark by the late Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, who warned voters to beware of Southern Baptists—"They don't sweat and they are always quoting the Bible." Watching Mrs. Dole, the right-wing evangelical Christian, and Mrs. Clinton, her left-wing counterpart, each claiming to be more God-fearing and righteous than her opponents, has been enough to make me break out in cold perspiration. Still, for many Americans, one thing this election has done is finally put the question of "character," as defined in politics, outside the voters' concerns. How else to explain the figures that have indicated that

clashes of Clinton and Dole, *cherchez la femme*, and not the *femme* on the side, but the *femme* at their side. Elizabeth Dole encourages and houses her husband around. Hillary gives her talented, if somewhat nosed, husband the more and beliefs he totally lacks. A new book entitled *The Selection of Hillary Rodham* (by David Brock, the neo-conservative author of *The Real Anita Hill*) has created a storm in America, where it is seen as a surprisingly sympathetic account of Mrs. Clinton. In truth, it is the portrait of a woman Brock clearly admires: decisive, ambitious with the moral certitude of the authoritarianist Methodist who found in her husband the vehicle she needed to capture one of America's main political parties, sell it her program by clever positioning to the electorate, and take the White House once and, in all likelihood, twice.

Brock's research is extensive, and if you accept it, as I do, it doesn't matter whether you agree with his conclusions about Hillary. You will be able to draw your own view from his clearly adduced evidence, which presents a picture of Hillary as the consummate statistic already a great success in remaking America in her ideological image. Nothing I have read to date explains what those of us fighting racism know, but can rarely convey without sounding bawling mad: how under the guise of a respectable ideal such as winning and civil abuse or helping battered mothers, institutions like the Children's Defense Fund or the Legal Services Corporation in America for the United Way, the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund or Children's Aid in Canada can be hijacked and manipulated as a tool of ideological warfare. It is these people that themselves supporting a re-engineering of every aspect of society from culture to trade policies.

Hillary has hijacked such institutions. Her social agenda has targeted areas of the law, education, parenting, diversity, multiculturalism and the environment—wrapping them all up in one big health-and-safety pill to be swallowed with neither a milk nor water. Perfect farrel, and not worry about it. I believe that after the re-election of Clinton, the American people will realize what they have done. Clinton will either be impeached, resign or escape by the skin of her teeth. Vice-President Al Gore, the man who, as columnist Mark Steyn wrote so brilliantly in London's *Sunday Telegraph*, "preserved the barbarism for lasting strikes collaboration on the basis for public policy" (a man almost killed in a car crash in 1992, and the death of his son from lung cancer this year), will then try to keep Clinton's policies in place rather than see the Rodham influence take it to the left. That way, he stands a better chance of getting the Democratic nomination next time round.

And perhaps the good news is that this election, Americans put phony character issues behind them (next time, après la idéologie) call deluge a Rodham, they might concentrate on policy.

Days of civility



BY BRIAN HERGMAN

Like many other Torontonians last Friday, Mayor Harris had just wanted to go to work. But when she showed up at the front entrance to City Hall around 8 a.m., she found herself confronted by several dozen placard-bearing protesters—most on small contingent among the thousands of unionists and social activists who had taken to the streets in a bid to shut down Canada's largest city for a day. As she pleaded with the demonstrators to let the mayor—a beleaguering politician who had endorsed the aims of the protesters—enter the building, his words were echoed by Sid Ryan, a prominent Ontario labor leader. But the demonstrators were adamant: the mayor would have to wait—until 9 a.m. With a polite shrug, Hall strolled across the civic square, the media in tow, to a nearby coffee kiosk. Returning at the appointed hour, she was allowed to without further delay. "We just let that mayor, like a lot of other people, should have a disrupted workday," explained John Murphy, president of the Power Workers Union. "So we let her have an extended coffee break."

It was that kind of day as picketers targeted 300 civic sectors greater Toronto to express their outrage over the defuncting

policies of Premier Mike Harris's Conservative government. Determined to make their case, they were also keenly aware that their stated goal—to paralyze the city—was resented by most Torontonians. So, while they effectively shut down a public transit system that normally services 3.1 million people, and barred thousands of government and private sector employees from their offices, organizers took pains to protest in an orderly and peaceful—in short, Canadian—manner. The result was far sabbat than many had feared. Perhaps not surmised at Toronto's Pearson International Airport. The widely expected gridlock on highways and downtown streets failed to materialize. In fact, so many workers decided to either take the day off or camp overnight in hotels and offices that a holiday atmosphere pervaded much of the city centre—a mood enlivened by the sunny skies and unseasonably warm temperatures.

"We're genuinely respecting," said Seth Greening, 30, one of a group of five self-styled "hitchhikers" with a severe dislike of Mike Harris, sitting on the lawn of the provincial legislature. Because of the transit shutdown, they had to hitchhike downtown and missed many of the demonstrations. They joked about hoping to see an elite, more action: "We wanted chaos," said a smiling Tim Fargo, also 30.

Even when the protests proved more boisterous, they did little to

Toronto protesters make their stand—but in a polite way

angel Canadian reputation for civility. About two dozen riot police watched from the sidelines as a noisy noon-hour rally at the Toronto Stock Exchange drew hundreds of demonstrators, a handful of whom banged on the glass-paned doors. And while the blocked-off streets caused a brief traffic jam, it failed to face rowdyists like Edward Szymoniak, who was lost and looking for his hotel. A bakery owner from New Jersey who was in town for a trade show, Korman said the protest had not tarnished his view of the city. "It's a friendly, peaceful demonstration and I can sympathize with them a little," he said. "It hasn't inconvenienced me a bit—and I still like Toronto and Canadians."

The mood of relative restraint continued into Saturday, as protesters camped through downtown to the provincial legislature at Queen's Park. Along the way, the marchers passed the Metro Convention Centre, where Harris and 2,500 other delegates were engaged in a Tary policy convention. Dozens of riot police stood ready, but were never pressed into service. Instead, most delegates were standing on covered lawns and carried vegetables, and appeared to be unopposed by the protest as the premier himself, who a day earlier had told reporters that he would not shift course: "I don't expect that most of the public wants us to change from our agenda," Harris had said.

Any frustration was a recurring theme at the Queen's Park rally, where, according to police estimates, 25,000 people listened to folk songs and what-speakynging. Bruce Cockburn told the crowd that he viewed Harris's cabinet as "part of somebody's global agenda," and drew loud applause as he launched into a song that urged people to "acknowledge the darkness until it breeds daylight." Canadian Labour Congress president Bob White said that all of the Ontario governments he had dealt with over the years, none had been as "unconquered" and "divisive" as Harris's. Vowing to hold more marches and protests, White declared: "Until we get justice, there will be no peace."

Analyzing at Queen's Park, Harris: I don't expect that most of the public wants us to change from our agenda!



That massive display of public indignation caused what has been the most turbulent 16 months in Ontario politics. Since being elected in June 1995, the Harris Tories have implemented their so-called Common Sense Revolution with a zeal that has surprised even many true believers. It has led to a \$10 billion from the provincial operating budget while at the same time offering a 20-per-cent increase in tax cuts over three years, the government has struck on several sensitive fronts. Among other things, it has said 35,000 civil service jobs, pared welfare payments by one-fifth while maintaining a welfare program for recipients, and taken steps that will force the closure of dozens of hospitals and may eliminate the majority of school boards.

All of which is not business-as-usual in a province where, as former premier Bill Davis used to boast, "blatant works." Historian Desmond Morton notes that since protesters are nothing new to provinces like British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec, where police have traditionally been more polarized. "But in Ontario," says Morton, "the province has been given

an earned, at least since the Second World War, even the middle, mostly by a conservative party that was also progressive, and that had a seat far enough to at least have a steel over in the corner for the labor movement. That's not the state of affairs today."

Morton adds that "the pretty sheltered life" that Ontarians have enjoyed until recently may help explain why individuals and organizations appeared so alarmed in the days leading up to the Toronto protest. Downtown hospitals cancelled some surgical operations and sent patients home early—even though labor leaders had promised that they would not be picketed. Hundreds of healthcare workers slept in emergency beds to make sure they got to work on Friday, and similar precautions were taken by several city banks and The Toronto Star, which purchased 600 sleeping bags for its overnight staffers. People who had to commute into Toronto gave themselves plenty of leeway—only to arrive in record time. Cheryl Wood, 18, of Peterborough, and Chris Foster, 20, of Trenton, arrived in two hours in the middle of the rush, arriving at Pearson Airport at 5:00 a.m. on Friday for a 3 p.m. flight to Australia. Wood had flown for days about the journey. "I had a few minor breakdowns," she said. "Everybody was saying, 'You're not going to make it.'"

The safety—and the anger—over the days of protest was also reflected in a poll of 600 Torontonians taken early last week by the Angus Reid Group. It showed that while nearly half of respondents believed the protesters were well-intentioned and had legitimate concerns, fully 60 per cent opposed their plan to shut down the city. That impedance was sometimes evident on the streets on Friday. "They're all a bunch of nuts," declared Marjorie Stephenson, glancing over her car at picketers who impeded her progress in downtown Toronto. "What do they want? I tell them to go to Russia if they want to be communists."

While they appeared to be waging an uphill battle for public support last week, it was one that, in the long run, many labor leaders hoped they would win. "I don't think you can turn around public opinion in a 24-hour period," said Ryan, president of the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. "But when these cabals make public effect, that's when Harris will drop like a rock in the polls. In a year's time, I think people will look back and say, 'We're not going to have these demonstrations, were about.'" Angus Reid senior vice-president John Wright believes Ryan may have a point. While the Tories retain a comfortable 49-per-cent support among polls, Wright says a growing number of residents seem concerned about how the government's actions may affect them. "Right now, a lot of these issues are announced quick and effective ones," says Wright. "We may be in for a harder one."

What if that's the case? "It's not clear," says Wright. "We may be in for a harder one." But if it is, Ontario might find themselves yearning for an era when business walked.

MIKE DAVIES/ANSA/REUTERS, MATTHEW CHAGWALL and STEPHEN DOUGLAS/GETTY IMAGES in Toronto

Dingwall: a national reputation lost it again on the rise

Ministerial makeover

He smiles as he enters his sun-drenched, Ottawa office. But a sun-subdued grin, not the high-wattage politician's smile that always takes more than it gives. Time was when the compact, middle-aged man in the designer tie and shirt always seemed to be in a rush. Now his body language says calm—even serene. Instead of partisan Liberal politics, so often his preoccupation in the past, Canada's minister of health would prefer to talk about AIDS, drug addiction, tobacco advertising and medicine. "His portfolio is very different," he says, staring at the ceiling. "You are dealing much more intimately with people's lives, and the issues are very substantive." All of that is undoubtedly true. But can this really be David Dingwall talking?

One of Canada's most articulate political provocateurs is in the midst of a whopping makeover. It is not the first time for the scrappy, portland-whiskey-drinker from Nova Scotia's Cape Breton Island. In his 35 years in federal politics he has gone from government backbencher to Opposition al-

lied dog to cabinet member to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's political chaperone. In the process, he has also become the Liberal Atlantic *Grandfather*, the natural heir to longtime cabinet minister and recently retired senator, Allan J. Rock. Each time, who enjoys virtual sainthood in Cape Breton for his years of looking after his down-trodden island. Yet the latest chapter in Dingwall's life is the most interesting. A year ago, stumbling from crisis to crisis as minister of public works, his name synonymous with ill-style patronage politics, Dingwall was in a career freefall. Now, behind Ottawa's comeback too—his national reputation again on the rise, his political currency restored to the point where he was a featured speaker before the Liberal women's caucus at last week's national policy convention. Even cautious members of the Prime Minister's Office now trumpet him as "the perfect guy in the perfect place" to carry

David Dingwall stages a comeback

one of the government's central tasks in the next federal election.

Not everyone is pushing. So far, Dingwall has failed to deliver on promises for new anti-tobacco legislation—or to explain how he will stabilize the health-care system in whole federal funding shambles. "He has yet to demonstrate an overall health-care vision," says Dr. Judith Katzman, president of the Canadian Medical Association. What Dingwall has said is what he will not do—allow the provinces or anyone else to tamper with medicine, the one social program insured by all Canadians. And from the government's point of view his combination of headlong toughness and political acumen is ideal for the job. "David," says an admiring Mary Clancy, a Liberal MP from Nova Scotia, "is a very formidable opponent for anyone."

True, Dingwall no longer carries the type of politician who once dominated Tory MP Paul Dick in the House of Commons as "bing up to his name," traded obscenities with New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna during a private meeting, or roughed up Conservative opponents during "friendly" hockey games. But glimmers of the old Maritime politician shine through. This is still a straightforward cabinet minister who tells reporters he is "pissed off" over a large tobacco ad near a schoolyard, and warns doctors that a two-tiered health-care system—with a higher standard of care for those who can afford to pay—is surely "not on." More than anything, he seems to enjoy going head-to-head with the federal Reform party, "the Ralph Klein of this world" or anyone else who challenges the traditional underpinnings of the health-care system that he still feels is the world's best. "I come from humble beginnings," Dingwall declares. "It grips me in the gut when I talk about health care."

He has traveled far from his roots. Dingwall may golf with the Prime Minister, talk about his love for big-city musical productions, and even brag about his recipe for English trifle. But make no mistake—underneath it all he is still "the Dragger," a junior's son who grew up in a school basement in South Bay, a small town in industrial Cape Breton. He was a tearful, somewhat plodding hockey player but a natural at politics. Cape Breton's second-in-command, H. J. Gentry, was a staunch enough Tory that when he died in 1994, members of Parliament, MLAs and even representatives from the Prime Minister's Office attended his

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CANADA

Canada. "My father drove into me [that there were two important killings in life]," says Dingwall, whose eyes seemed wet with tears at the mention of his father's name. "The grandfather—and politics."

His political apprenticeship began in 1979 when Dingwall, who holds a law degree from Dalhousie University in Halifax, took a job as a special assistant to Allan Rock, a lawyer, judge, Liberal M.L.A. from Cape Breton. When Joe Clark's shambled Tory government fell in 1980, Dingwall was the federal Liberal nomination in Cape Breton (lost to Mulroney). He took the test by losing 300 votes. But his reputation for playing a particularly tough game of political hardball began with that run. Stories, when mostly denied by Dingwall, still abound that his aggressive appeal later convinced that the NDP incumbent, a Roman Catholic priest, was an ideological center crying out for the capitalist.

The legend grew. In Ottawa, after the Liberals fell to Brian Mulroney's Tories in 1984, Dingwall snarled and berated the government from the Opposition benches. He persisted denouncing while set to sing as Liberal House leader from 1985 to 1989 created enemies within his own ranks of those persisting in the view Dingwall's appointment to the cabinet as public works minister after the Liberals returned back to power in 1993 may have owed as much to his strong friendship with Chrétien—whose led 1984 leadership bid he supported—as

anything else. Yet even his been admitted his workaholic speaking style, superb organizational abilities and his uncanny ability to discern what way the political winds were blowing.

As minister of public works, controlling \$9 billion a year in government procurement and contracts as well as the \$275-million budget of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Dingwall needed all of those skills. "He was a great minister—a strong manager who got things done but never tried to show the process by doing things we argued against for political reasons," recalls Art Siewczuk, an assistant deputy minister in charge of procurement under Dingwall and now an Ottawa lobbyist.

But the public, for the most part, saw an old-style powerbroker. When allegations surfaced in the summer of 1986 that Dingwall intervened to ease Canada Post's loss of a post office building, they did move a post office site to a building owned by a well-known G.O. It just seemed to confirm that growing perception. Then came the malpractice—a scheme to divert \$26 million



Chrétien: He convinced him to love it

from a planned four-lane bypass of a dangerous Nova Scotia stretch of the Trans-Canada Highway, known locally as Death Valley, to create a road running through Dingwall's own riding. "I think our decision was right and in the best interest of Nova Scotians," Dingwall now says in his defence. "But Nova Scotians didn't think that way for a variety of different reasons. They thought that there was something sinister about what we had done—so we acted."

That decision—to not shift the road funding—was the first step in Dingwall's political rehabilitation. The next came last January, when he swapped places with Health Minister Denis Dineen. "Dingwall is a tough guy and he knows it," declares Mary Ellen Jones, executive director of the Canadian Nurses Association. "But he faces tremendous challenges." And if that weren't the case in the health-care system, medical and health research groups appearing last week before the Commonsense committee viewed that the Chrétien government's spending cuts are fracturing medicine apart—and pleaded for more, not less, funding. Everywhere he turns, Dingwall hears criticism, but his commitment remains firm. "The health portfolio crosses political lines," Dingwall declares. "If people think I'm partisan for demanding more care and the Canada Health Act and providing good quality health care, I guess I can't stop them." His voice rises as he says that. Like someone who is just getting warmed up.

JOHN DEBONT in Ottawa

meeting all of its Red Book promises—a clear attempt to head off opposition criticism. And instead of admitting that their controversial 1993 campaign promise to replace the Goods and Services Tax is all but impossible to fulfil—in even department of finance officials concede—the Liberals preferred to describe the GST question as "a work in progress."

Even the entertainment had a political undercurrent. The policy committee last night a \$10-a-head concert held to raise money to defend those charged with breaking Quebec electoral law during the giant Montreal unity rally held towards the end of last October's referendum campaign. Underlying it all was the Liberals' events for governing. As one senior official in the Prime Minister's Office said, "It is better to get ahead of trouble than to be behind the eight ball." "Prudent advice that should not go unheeded. In a closed-door session last week, Liberal pollster Michael Macdonald warned the party's grassroots against complacency. Macdonald also hinted that trouble may be brewing for overconfident Qnt candidates—particularly in the crucial electoral battleground of Ontario. The message was clear: girding the party faithful in one thing, but the Liberal government will soon face the harshest critic—the public.

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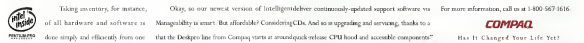
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 Has It Changed Your Life Yet?

What next?

A provincial election is not expected until next spring. But Alberta is already a hot of political activity, with riding associations across the province holding caucus meetings and politicians declaring their intentions. So far, eight Liberals and seven Conservatives—including some of the top gains in Premier Ralph Klein's government—have announced that they will not seek reelection. The rest, along with the New Democrats who currently hold no seats in the Alberta Legislature, are gearing up for a battle that will likely be fought on two key issues: health-care cuts and the government's fiscal record. The Tories, meanwhile, face a critical question: the value of their budget-balancing act. What do they offer the electorate as an encore?

Not that they appear too worried about their electoral chances. The Conservatives have remained popular throughout their austere drive, and now appear to hold an almost unsailable lead in the polls. In the 1993 election, they won 51 of 85 seats with just 44 per cent of the popu-

lar vote. According to the most recent survey made public by the Angus Reid Group, Tory support among decided voters stands at 59 per cent, with the opposition Liberals well behind at 25 per cent and the New Democrats with 16 per cent. Much of the Tories' popularity is based on their record: they have cut total program spending by 21 per cent—or \$3.5 billion—since the 1992-1993 fiscal year. With the help of windfall oil, gas and corporate tax revenues, they balanced government books in 1994-1995—two years ahead of schedule. They have even posted \$2.1 billion in surpluses over the past two years and applied that money against the province's debt.

But Alberta's health-care system remains the dark in the Tories' mirror. During its current term, the government has cut the health-care budget by 11 per cent—to \$3.7 billion. And for more than a year, Angus Reid polls have listed that health care is the top concern cited by Albertans. The opposition parties are certainly counting on the issue providing them with



Klein: balancing the provincial books

campaign fodder. "I believe the Tories have hit the wall on health care, among other things," said Liberal Leader Grant Mitchell last week. Citing a challenge to Klein's association as his own constituency said "his choice [lying] in his own party."

Some form of health-care charter that would, among other things, have guaranteed access to certain medical procedures within set time limits was clearly meant to be a key part of the Tories' next campaign platform. At a Conservative policy conference in September, though, delegates rejected the idea, citing concern that such guarantees on medical services could

leave the government open to legal action. But Klein remains aware of the importance of the health-care issue. In an interview last week he said that Health Minister Halvar Jonsson would announce a series of new initiatives this month including a declaration of provincial health-care standards and principles in line of the charter idea.

In fact, the state of the province's medical services haunted Klein's own nomination meeting in early October. Challenging the premier in his riding of Calgary/Ebow was Dr. Harold Swanson, a longtime Tory and retired neurologist who worked for 35 years at Calgary's Bow Valley Centre hospital—closed last December until April Swanson, who criticized the government's health care cuts, said last week he is concerned about growing waiting lists and a shortage of such specialists as neurosurgeons and cardiovascular surgeons in the city. He is also worried about the absence of a full-service downtown hospital and the consolidation of too many services at one of the other hospitals at Bow Valley

is closed. "It's just a catastrophe," he says. Klein, who won the nomination by 838 votes to 320, claims that many of Swanson's votes came from New Democrats and Liberals who sought Tory membership for the recession. Swanson counters that a large number of Conservatives voted for him, and, in any event, he says that he succeeded in raising health-care concerns.

Treasurer Jim Dinning and Justice Minister Brian Evans, meanwhile, are among Klein's high-profile colleagues who have decided to leave politics after this term. Also opting for the private sector are Federal and Interprovincial Affairs Minister Ken Rostad, who told reporters when announcing his impending departure that the government's decision to eliminate MLA positions in 1993, on the eve of its deficit-cutting campaign, had been an error—and that there should be some kind of compensation package. While eliminating pensions was a popular move, some analysts now question whether it will eventually hamper good government. "It makes the financial cost of staying in office huge prohibitive," says University of Calgary political scientist Roger Gibbins.

In Dinning's case, he would have had a tough act to follow—the treasurer is credited with engineering the province's fiscal recovery. Many observers are indeed wondering what the Tories expect to do next term. Klein says the government intends to stay the fiscal course while directing money saved as a result of lower interest payments on a shrinking provincial debt to high-priority areas such as health care and education. "The vision," he says, "is really just an existing one in a political context because it's basically good housekeeping." Of course, Alberta's budget-cutting premier is not the only one who wants to tend the house—and the battle for control of the provinces has only just begun.

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Milligan capturing the Liberal leadership, hoping to turn good economic news into electoral victory

Milligan's Island

They literally packed the hall to the rafters. An estimated 4,500 men hared at the Prince Edward Island Liberal Party during the March 1994 provincial election in Charlottetown, spelling over into barely erected bleachers on the campaign—some historic members, some with the ink still fresh on their party cards. In Canada's smallest province, politics is a personal passion. From a provincial population on a par with the town of St. Catharines, Ont.—about 130,000 people—the Oct. 3 Liberal leadership convention drew a crowd that rivaled some national party gatherings. It was, say most observers, the best-attended political event in the province's history. And after a decade in power, the Liberals have a gift when they see one. On Oct. 31, fresh from his convention win, Premier Keith Milligan called a general election for Nov. 15—hoping to seal the crest of conservative publicity and turn a recent spate of good economic tidings into victory at the polls.

If they swing it, the Liberals will have enjoyed one of the swiftest political comebacks in the province's recent history. Last spring, then-Premier Robert Chisholm had been pressing the pump for an early election in June. Liberal candidates for most of the province's ridings had been chosen. Policy papers had been drafted, agreements scouted, posters designed. Then two linked events scuttled months of backroom planning. First came accusations that Liberal socialisation and

premier's efforts to handpick candidates. Second, a public opinion poll by an independent Halifax-based firm put the rival Progressive Conservatives, under their newly chosen leader, the Blaine, ahead of the Liberals for the first time in years. With Liberal party workers blaming the misfortune on the party's drive, Chisholm pulled the plug on an early election—and resigned in August.

In the leadership race that followed, most pundits initially underestimated Milligan's chances. But thanks to a tight, disciplined campaign operation, Milligan's supporters overwhelmed those of his rival, former Minister Wayne Clough. On election day Nov. 15, the former for-mer leader of the Progressive Conservatives, under their newly chosen leader, the Blaine, ahead of the Liberals for the first time in years. With Liberal party workers blaming the misfortune on the party's drive, Chisholm pulled the plug on an early election—and resigned in August.

PEI's new premier calls an election

But the island's opposition parties were still bound. Thanks to a Charter of Rights challenge, the Chisholm government was recently re-elected to reduce the legislature's seat count from 32 to 25, eliminating a series of severely underpopulated rural ridings and giving more weight in the legislature to population-rich urban districts. With old voting patterns shattered, the Tories and New Democrats have their best chance appears to challenge the Liberals. But they face major hurdles—not the least of which is the

Liberals' enduring popularity. In the 1993 provincial election, then-premier Terry Linder lost Milligan—the first woman ever to lead the party—was the only candidate to win a seat. And apart from the polling domination this past spring—which was reversed within weeks of Chisholm's resignation on a no-confidence vote—the Liberals have generally enjoyed a comfortable lead over their rivals for the past decade.

At the same time, no single issue has emerged as a focus of discontent with the governing party. Quite the reverse: the Liberals appear happy to run on their record—and promises of more of the same. On the economic front, they have been first from the \$200-million Nova Scotia-Prince Edward Island fixed-link project—recently christened Confederation Bridge—which has almost single-handedly led a boom in the province's economy. In addition, the Liberals have supported a handful of economic development projects—such as an intermarketing centre for

Charlottetown—that they claim will provide a base for future economic development.

That has left the Liberals' main challenge, the Tories, with little room to manoeuvre. (The provincial NDP, now led by rural physician Herb Dickson, has never held a seat in the province.) To date, the Tories have focused less on specific policy outcomes and more on what many see as the Liberals' biggest weakness: the character issue. In particular, the Tories have targeted the government's controversial 1994 rollback of public sector wages and the intermarriage squabbling over the Liberal riding boundaries. And they are playing to a lingering sense among some Islanders that the Liberals have become too arrogant and have ruled too long.

According to some political observers, that fatigue factor may play a role in the upcoming election. "Given a credible alternative, 10 or 12 years is usually enough time for people to want to give someone else a crack at running things," notes University of Prince Edward Island political scientist John Cranley. "My gut instinct is that the Tories are more credible than they were in the last two elections. At the very least, I don't think we're going to see another Liberal landslide." In Island politics, however, many say, there's no such thing as a free lunch.

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Canada NOTES

SASKATCHEWAN SCANDAL

Myles Moyn, a former chairman of the Saskatchewan Conservative caucus, testified in court that Grégoire Devine, premier from 1985 to 1991, approved a plan to transfer \$485,000 in government-owned caucus research funds into an investment account. The money was later used for party activities. Devine has denied any knowledge of the criminal activity in his caucus that has led to three charges against 11 former Tory MPs.

'POINT-BLANK'

Cpl. Stephen Dettie told the *Saskatchewan Star* that during a March, 1993, incident involving suspected looters at the Canadian compound, a fellow sentry equipped with night-vision goggles told him that a Somali civilian had been shot at "point-blank range." The disturbance left one Somali dead and another wounded—both of them shot in the back.

SHORTER CAMPAIGNS

The federal government introduced legislation to cut election campaigns from 47 days to 36. The bill would also create a permanent voters' list. Meanwhile, a private member's bill by Vancouver B.C. MP Aron Brodeur called for staggered polling-station hours across the country. In the past, B.C. voters often knew which party had won an election before they even cast their ballots because of reports about vote tallies in Ontario and Quebec before B.C. polling stations closed.

TAIWANESE CLAMPDOWN

The federal immigration department implemented tougher screening procedures for Taiwanese investor-class immigrants. The department said concerns had been raised over the use of false information to secure entry into Canada, and that some Taiwanese entrepreneurs were not investing in Canada the money required by law. The department's actions follow recent reports by *Maclean's* on short-comings in Ottawa's immigrant-visitor policy.

CLOSE, BUT NO CIGAR

At Toronto's Woodbine Racecourse, Qipar, the star colt in horse racing's richest day, inspired fans to what was billed as his final race. It was the first time the \$31-million *Shadown's* Cup was held outside the United States.

Unity emotions on the wane

Unity rally—the sceptic: About 2,000 people braved a blustery day to gather in Montreal's Place du Canada to mark the anniversary of last year's 11th-hour grand referendum rally. That afternoon, held on Oct. 27 during the final days of the referendum campaign, drew up to 100,000 participants who listened to speeches by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson and federal Tory Leader Jean Charest. By comparison, last week's event was a subdued affair. "It certainly is not the same," said Vancouver mortgage broker Albert Pakenia, who also attended the unity rally. "When I came last year, it was one of the most inspiring experiences of my life."

But if the commemorative rally failed to fuel federalist sentiment in Quebec, there are signs that separatism may also be on the wane. Last week, an opinion poll by Groupe Léger & Léger of Montreal showed that support for sovereignty is slowly eroding. Among the 48-year-olds, 48 per cent of Quebecers would vote against separation if there was no chance of negotiating sovereignty, compared with 38 per cent who would vote Yes. Chrétien, meanwhile, waded into the debate during a two-day visit to Montreal. In a speech to 900 local



Montreal commemorative rally 'not the same'

business leaders, he bemoaned the effect of separatist policies on the city's economy. "There remains one element which continues to undermine the investment climate in Quebec," Chrétien declared. And the Prime Minister played up the federal government's role as a champion of the local economy: the high point of his visit was an \$87-million federal loan to Montreal-based Bombardier Inc. to help the company launch a new 70-seat Regional Jet.

LAW AND ORDER

Under the gun

Quebec Public Security Minister Robert Perreault, opposed by Laurence Patrice, the recently retired chief justice of the Quebec Superior Court, is to head an inquiry into the activities of the *Sûreté* du Québec. The provincial police force has long faced allegations of brutality, corruption and mishandling investigations—most recently in 1994 during the Montreal bid for soccer. That case was thrown out of court. After the province's police noted that four SQ investigators had turned up with evidence. And although the four were subsequently acquitted of charges arising from that case, two of them courted by inspectors appointed to look into the SQ's handling of the investigation was alleged to be subjected to a bribe to support the case—and that would lead to a prosecution in the future. The inquiry is scheduled to submit its report by Nov. 1, 1997.

Harmony and discord

Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin announced the finalization of the tax harmonization deal between Ottawa and three Atlantic provinces. Under the terms of the agreement, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland will merge their provincial sales taxes with the seven-per-cent federal Goods and Services Tax for a single 15-per-cent levy. The new tax will be incorporated into the listed price of goods and services—although it will be clearly marked on sales receipts. In return, the three provinces will receive \$661 million in compensation for lost revenues from provincial sales taxes (all currently 11 per cent or higher). At the same time, Martin unveiled surprise: Ottawa has decided to eliminate the GST on books bought by Canadian universities, schools, libraries and charities. The finance minister added that the tax revenue on books—in the form of a rebate—would cost the federal government \$35 million a year in lost revenues. Critics reacted with scorn to the harmonization deal, focusing once again on the Liberals' 1993 campaign promise to scrap—out harmonize—the GST. "I hope they will go to the extra distance and announce a plan that will see the eventual abolishing of the GST," said Liberal MP John Nantais, who was kicked out of the caucus April 22 for his criticism of his own party on the GST issue.

★ SPECIAL REPORT

WINNING
WAYS

n a damp playing field beside the Ohio River, at the spot where it makes a loop, lay loop into Cincinnati, the Blue Magic and the Fairview Falcons are battling it out. Seven-year-old boys chase a soccer ball in their mothers' and fathers' hoodie or down jackets on a bright but bleak Saturday morning. Debra Laher keeps a careful eye on her son, Samuel, as she weighs a question about the political choice she faces on Nov. 5. It is a quiet, awkward moment, a very appealing one. She does not admire President Bill Clinton, especially his repeated infidelities, and as a way of what she sees as his tendency to "get the government involved in everything." She has always voted Republican in the past, yet she thinks that Bob Dole is, at 73, too old to be president. "I really have a problem voting for either person," she says. "It's going to be really tough." Still, Laher concludes without enthusiasm, "I'd probably be voting for Clinton."

Laher, a 42-year-old working mother living in a suburb of a Midwestern city, fits the profile of what American political strategists have designated as the most sought-after voter of 2000. She is, quite literally, a soccer mom—a category that has grown from obscurity to overused cliché within mere weeks. Soccer of course, has little to do with it. Laher and the other mothers pacing the sidelines of the Cincinnati playing field are crucial because they represent a pool of voters who are not firmly committed to either candidate. Just as important, their concerns seem to capture the mood of Americans as they prepare to vote in one of the most desultory and overlooked presidential elections in recent history.

News that the outcome seems all but inevitable, given the double-digit lead Clinton has held over the hapless Dole since late August. Even aside from that, the issues that voters themselves

have identified are relatively modest, as toward-looking agenda that reflects concern over the effects on their families of such things as crime and declining education standards. There is no transcendent issue—and, by every available measure, less public interest than in any recent campaign. That should be no surprise. This is an uneasy sign the most powerful issue troubled time in America in three generations. Since the late 1950s, voters have faced an almost continual crisis: red Depression, war, domestic upheaval and Cold War. Now, there is no such crisis for government to solve—and voters, quite sensibly, are paying less attention.

The backdrop to every campaign is the economy, and this year is no exception. Every major Republican seen nascently by Clinton's enviable political skills and has lacked grit for conservatism. But all that might be irrelevant if the American economy were not humming along very nicely, delivering



ON ASSIGNMENT
AND LEW PHILLIPS
IN OHIO



THE PRESIDENT:
Now campaigning in Michigan (left). If you can co-optimize the business cycle and the political cycle, you're in good shape.



low unemployment, low inflation and soaring stock markets in briefest the retirement funds of the middle class. The grassroots fury over lost jobs and falling living standards that allowed Clinton to push George Bush out of the White House in 1992 has evaporated, giving way to the quiet anxieties of the soccer moms and dads. Americans, in sharp contrast with Canadians, aren't hardly concerned with economic issues. A poll of 3,000 people in each country conducted between Sept. 3 and Oct. 10 by Angus Reid Group, shows that while 66 per cent of Canadians talk about jobs when listing the most important questions facing their country, a scant nine per cent of Americans even mention the issue (page 36). The survey shows that Americans worry much more about education, crime, drugs and welfare reform than do Canadians—a reflection both of their own social problems and the fact that Canada's economy lags behind.

The constraint of voters is overwhelming. The biggest factor giving Clinton his more-than-comfortable lead—an astonishing 22 points in the Real survey 64 per cent, compared with 35 per cent for Dole and 7 per cent for Ross Perot. "Timing is essential," notes Thomas Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "If you can co-optimize the business cycle and the political cycle, you're in good shape." As a result, what suspense remains in the campaign is deemed an anticlimax: the fight for control of Congress (page 34). Republicans are focused to keep their majority in the Senate, but voters could well give control of the House of Representatives back to the Democrats just two years after Republicans won a majority there and proclaimed a radical right-wing "revolution" under Speaker Newt Gingrich. And that, more than anything else, will determine what kind of president Clinton is during the second term that he now has within his grasp.

Ohio, home to Debra Laher and her fellow soccer moms, is one of the places that American politicians study most closely to divine the anxieties of that elusive creature: the typical voter. With 11 million people and 21 electoral votes (second-largest among all the states), it would be a rich prize in any contest. But Ohio offers more. It has been an uneasy province of pre-adolescent votes throughout the century. In 32 of the past 34 elections, it has gone with the winner. Something else weighs heavily on the minds of Dole's strategists: no Republican has ever captured the White House without winning in Ohio.

The reason is the state's complexity. It contains not only the old rust-belt cities like Cleveland and Akron that give it its unpleasant image, but also vast stretches of rich farmland, liberal college towns, booming suburbs around Columbus and Cincinnati, and even a patch of Appalachia in the southwest. Ohio has produced seven presidents (more than any state but Virginia), and for good reason. George Knapp, a historian at the University of Akron, wrote in a recent essay that "politically, those who understood Ohio understood America." Its archetypal Middle America quality also attracts those who want to see if a new product will sell across the United States. "Whether people want to try out a new low-fat potato chip or a presidential candidate, they try it out in Ohio," says Jay Byrnes, a Democratic organizer in Columbus. He is not joking: in mid-October, Praxair Inc.

Guadalupe chases Columbus for a prize in the marketing of its new Prague chips with fat-free olestra oil.

That makes political strategists vitally interested in what goes on in her life. As a seven-year-old Somali and his Blue Magic team members scrambled their way to a 74 victory over the reds, Clinton was directed as how the past five years have affected her family. She works as a graphic designer and lives with her husband, Christopher, a lawyer, in a comfortable suburb of Cincinnati called Hyde Park. Her family has benefited from the robust economy, so she sees no compelling reason to change course. "It's the old 'I'm not broke, why fix it?' she says.

Clinton is at the heart of the most conservative, most Republican corner of Ohio, and if Dole cannot win over upper-middle-class voters like Leibel, he is in big trouble. Statewide polls have that and other voters in a lead of anywhere between eight and a dozen points in a state that is traditionally a closely fought. His lead among women, the so-called gender gap, is much wider—up to 30 points nationwide. Ethel Galantero, a 40ish mother and committed Democrat who was cheering on her seven-year-old son Rick, attributed that in part to the President's wife. "What if her women saying is that he does a much better job of addressing the feminine side of his personality," she reflected. "A very conservative Republican friend told me she's supporting Clinton just because he's not a macho schmuck." Dole's attempts to attack the President over ethics backfired with her, said Galantero. "It's very offputting. I think he's succeeded to the dark side."

For Joyce Wilbur, the 45-year-old education director of a Cincinnati arts center and mother of two young boys, "Clinton"—mode for Clinton's reported philandering—is also important. "It bothers me," she says. "But we're finding ourselves in this country free that the majority of couples have been faithful to each other." Dole, too, is not without fault on the domestic front, she notes. "What if he had not had his first marriage in 1972 when his daughter, Robin, was 18 years old? Let's weigh this out: Dole had a marriage and a child, and he ended it because he was more focused on his career. At least Clinton is still with Hillary and they're raising their daughter together." Wilbur has voted for both Democrats and Republicans in the past and leans towards Clinton this year, but her bottom line is not encouraging for the political professionals. "For one, this year it's like losing the negatives. Whoever has the lowest negatives, I'll go for."

Of course, it is not just style that has Clinton so far ahead. After Gingrich's Republicans took control of Congress, they seemed so far to the right that the President was able to chart a course down the center, where most Americans feel comfortable. He has made some traditional Republican issues—like tougher anti-

★ SPECIAL REPORT



★ Alexandra on the job: where were the Republicans in getting the right candidate?

crime measures, welfare reform and higher standards in education—his own. As a so-called New Democrat, he has explicitly rejected much of his party's New Deal Great Society New Right. Dole's attempts to stick him with the most unpopular epithet in U.S. politics—"liberal"—have not worked. That is no surprise. Clinton has cut the federal deficit and reduced Washington's workforce more than any other modern president.

And during this campaign, he continued to stress a modest, centrist agenda with a clutch of narrowly to closed promises that appeal particularly to women voters: he pledged to make sure that every woman has the right to spend at least two days in hospital after giving birth. The new blueprint for the Democrats' approach is "double-E, double-M" talking at every opportunity about education and the environment, and Medicare and Medicaid, the two social plans for the elderly and the poor. Those are the issues that Clinton strategists believe give them an advantage with the crucial swing

group of mainly female voters.

All that has left Republicans frustrated. Some arguments have already started circling. Dole's liberal campaign, while the campaign has given that the candidate has effectively given up on the presidency and is concentrating on helping Republicans keep control of the House and Senate. And only desperation could have been behind the Republican camp's unsuccessful 11th-hour bid last week to persuade Ross Perot to drop out of the race and endorse Dole—a man he has humiliated as the consummate Washington insider.

Well before the vote, the Republican campaign had already taken on a nearly, even lower tone. Gingrich, for one, blasted

THE CLINTON JUGGERNAUT

American presidential elections are won state by state, because the candidate with the most votes in each state wins all its Electoral College delegates, who formally elect the president. According to last week's polls, Clinton was leading in 31

states and the District of Columbia, which would give him 371 of the 538 electoral votes, only 270 are needed to win. Dole was leading in 15 states with 122 electoral votes. Four states, with 45 votes, were judged too close to call.



★ Dole's attempts to attack the President over ethics backfired

that reveals about foreign contributions to the Democratic national committee "make Watergate look tiny." Some right-wing Republicans have stopped even pretending that Dole can pull it off. The Weekly Standard, voice of conservative intellectuals who have long been steadfast of Dole, featured this headline line on a recent cover: "Can we get this election over with already?" Inside, the editors wrote: "The sky is falling... There is a serious risk that the Dole-Clinton trial will open through its door with sufficient deadly speed to soak the entire 1996 congressional election night down with it."

Ohio has more than its share of generic cityscapes and neighborhoods, the kind of places that are not so much Middle America as anywhere, or nowhere, U.S.A. But there are a few places where it is possible at least to imagine that a simpler life, the kind of time that Dole Dole talks about with such feeling, is within reach. The town of Lebanon, just 40 minutes up Interstate 71 from Cincinnati, is one such place. Hollywood has used it to represent a typical Midwestern town: the movie *Major Player* PTA was filmed there in 1979, and *Major Player* two years ago Lebanon has a classic main street with fine old brick buildings, and Dole-Song signs spread like so many tall mushrooms from the town of well-to-do houses with big old verandas and grape vines from.

Dole came to town during one of his half-hour swings through Ohio for much the same reason that the townmakers did: it gave the Kansas Republican a backdrop to talk about traditional values and to let voters that his campaign is "all about trust." He visited the Village Inn Cream Parlor, ordered a chocolate milkshake and

Lebanon's mayor: "It's about good looks and glamour and architecture"



impressed the manager, 44-year-old Sam Alexander, whose family has run the old-time restaurant for 18 years. "This is a real Republican area," she said. "There may be some Democrats around, but I press they keep quiet."

For Alexander and many others in and around conservative, church-going Lebanon, it seems inconceivable that other Americans could overlook the scandal that have dogged Clinton's presidency. "From all we hear, it's hard to imagine that Clinton's so far ahead," she says. "Whitehouse and all that character stuff—old-fashioned men, that's anything. But you wonder, the Republicans knew the election was coming. Where were they in getting the right candidate?" Isn't Dole the right candidate, she is asked. "That question's certainly in the back of my mind."

Lebanon's mayor, 58-year-old Jackson Hodges, laments that the rules of American politics are such that a straightforward, decent man like Dole seems to have no chance. "Dole's totally it's about good looks and glamour and architecture," he says. "And if you're going to make a donation on that basis, it's clear Dole doesn't rank up to Clinton." The President, he says with grudging admiration, "is a great politician. It's hard not to like this guy. I just wish he was of better moral character."

"Try as he might, Dole has been unable to get what American analysts call 'traction' on the issue of character and ethics. He shied away from personal attacks, but hammered Clinton over the Whitewater land scandal, confidential FBI files on Republicans that turned up in the White House, and—especially—the questionable contributions to the Democratic national committee from foreign sources. That money, particularly hundreds of thousands of dollars raised from Indonesian and other Asian sources by a DNC fund-raiser named John Huang, prompted some questions about how foreign cash might be used to influence the American political system. Dole's attacks, though, were undercut by the fact that the Republicans, too, have accepted millions from foreign sources. In the end, says Meen of the Brookings Institution, the character issue does not resonate with most Americans. " Voters have made their peace with this President," he says, "with all his strengths and all his weaknesses."

What matters is the economy. Lebanon may be a picture-postcard small town, but just five kilometers away, on the edge of Interstate 71, is the American headquarters of a Japanese company called Fujitsu America Inc., which makes elevators and escalators. The Japanese building is one of a string of green site office that spreads all the way from Cincinnati. Further north lies Dayton, which, in its own way also demonstrates the strength of the region. No one would call it pretty, but Dayton is like the economic disaster area it was a dozen years ago after big companies like National Cash Register cut back from 25,000 jobs to just 5,000 and many other firms went out of business. Now, the city has rebuilt a dozen auto plants order it, and the sprawling Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, where the Bosnia peace accord was negotiated, employs thousands more. Unemployment

in Montgomery County, which includes Dayton, is a secret 3.9 per cent, and many jobs are begging.

At the White House in suburban Walter Heights, a blue-collar area that swung heavily behind Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, behind a conversation cover in jobs is not only the Sunday breakfast crowd in midday over important things: the entrance of Ohio State's battle with Purdue University the day before (they won, 42-14) and the Cincinnati Bengals' encounter with the San Francisco 49ers later in the day (they would lose, 26-21). But Larry Wagner, a 56-year-old plumber, takes the time to make his point in a simple way: "What you need to know is that we've got all the work we can handle. I could be working today if I want it."

They talk, the area's Democratic congressman is more eloquent—but his view is essentially the same. In some ways he is an unusual representative for a no-nonsense, blue-collar town: he is a born-again Christian who takes a special interest in world hunger and has hosted several times to dramatize the issue. But he makes sure he takes care of business back in Dayton, and it is loudly sure that nothing is more important to him than that job. "Things were down here, but we dominated and we bounced back," he says. "Four years ago, everybody was scared. The economy wasn't doing so well. That's very different now; people don't want much more secure, and the President will benefit from that."

Local Republicans seem resigned to losing the county, which has long been a bellwether district in a bellwether state. David London, a personable 65-year-old lawyer who chairs Montgomery County's GOP organization, is another Republican who senses the loss of Clinton's ability to duck every punch. "It is inevitable," he says. "The rules don't seem to favor him. He can put his foot in it and come out smelling like a rose." Dole, he says, is the better man, but he may be out of step with the times. "People see him as someone who represents a different generation, a time when your grandmother put a dollar a week in an envelope to buy something. Now, you just stick it in a box."

Clinton's advantage is that he embodies the strengths and weaknesses of his generation, its conflicting attitudes towards identity and self-reliance. In a new study of his first term entitled *The President We Deserve*, Martin Walker of *The Guardian* newspaper of London writes that Clinton's own life typifies the changes in postwar America. The boy soldier who came to the left when his generation rejected the Vietnam War moved back to the boomer as the boomers assumed the responsibilities of adulthood. His small-town boyhood spoke to the widespread hunger for community, and his passion for education echoed Americans' strong fear of stagnation. He was idealistic in his youth, but he and Hillary tried to make serious money with their Whitewater venture just as boomers were becoming yuppies in the early '80s. "Bill Clinton," writes Walker, "was always in a kind of state endlessly moving up where the bulk of his generation wanted to be at a particular time."

Now inhering a political upset that would make Truman's victory over Dewey in 1948 look modest by comparison, Clinton is on the verge of making a second term. That is rare accomplishment, of the 41 previous presidents only 14 was a second term four years. Just 11 ones completed a second term. The track record is not encouraging from President Bush. Research to Richard Nixon to Richard Reagan, presidents have found their second terms to be more troubled and less successful than the first. Clinton's accomplishments in office so far are relatively modest: his challenge will be to do only big and show that he can leave an enduring mark the second time around. □

★ Control of Congress remains up for grabs

What was Bill Clinton doing campaigning in Alabama last week? It was the first time the President had visited since he took office, and by all normal electoral calculations, both he and Republican Bob Dole should be giving Alabama a safe berth. It should be comfortable for the Republican column and the candidates should be fighting for swing areas. But Dole's voters gave Clinton a far shot at winning over Alabama. More importantly, Clinton's lead means he was able to take time to give Democratic congressional candidates there a boost. The battle for the White House may be all but over, but both sides know that another crucial election is still to be decided: the fight for control of Congress.

That contest is much, much closer. Republicans won control of the House of Representatives in 1994 for the first time in 40 years, and now hold 235 of the 435 seats. In the Senate, where 24 seats are up for grabs on Nov. 6, the Republicans enjoy a 58-47 advantage. Almost all independent analysts believe the GOP will keep its Senate majority, and perhaps even add one or two seats there. But the House is much harder to call. James Thurber, professor of government at American University in Washington and a leading scholar of the Congress, calculates that 46 of the 435 House seats are truly competitive—they were decided by margins of 10 per cent or less in 1994. In addition, there are 48 "open" seats, where no incumbent is running.



■ Kerry and Weld prepare for a debate last month; two bright political stars

BATTLE FOR THE HILL

The problem for the Democrats is that many of those competitive and open seats are in the South, where Republicans have an advantage with conservative voters. That explains Clinton's extra efforts to win states in Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia. His lead over Dole may even work against the Democrats: some Republicans—collectively calling the White House to Clinton—are openly arguing that voters should check the President's powers by keeping the House out of Democratic control. And they have tried to scare conservative voters by pointing out that the congressional security system crumbles that same at the most liberal Democrats, including Charles Stenholm of New York's Harlem and Ron DeSantis of Oakland, Calif.—both of whom happen to be black—would be in line to chair key House committees if the Democrats make the House.

There are so many commentators that predictions are risky. Thurber writes this: "If I was forced to bet—and you just up the money—I would bet that the House will go Democratic and the Senate will stay Republican." But it is the powerful Senate, filled with strong and often colorful personalities, that features some of the most intriguing contests. Highlights:



■ Helms, rock and sock with his challenger

MASSACHUSETTS: In the year's hottest race, Democratic incumbent John Kerry is locked in a tight combat with the state's formidable Republican governor, William Weld. Elegant and aloof, Kerry, 52, is a two-term liberal who supports big government programs to help the needy. Rugged and charismatic, Weld, 54, is a fiscal conservative who has cut state taxes 11 times in the past five years. Both are bright political stars who are likely to provide a full slate of hopefuls in the year 2000. Both, too, are stout, bear-chested tall, handsome, and from New England blue-blood stock. Weld put his net worth of nearly \$7 million (Kerry is married to a tech heiress Terese Helms, who inherited \$1 billion Yale-educated Kerry has concentrated on foreign policy; Harvard was Weld's alma mater for his domestic agenda. Traditionally, Massachusetts votes Democratic—the other senator is Edward Kennedy—but Weld is highly popular. Although Clinton has a 50-point lead in the state, the Kerry-Weld contest is too close to call.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Democrats see South Dakota as their best chance to oust an incumbent Republican senator in a state of just 740,000 people who are accustomed to a long state political civility, the fight between Senator Larry Pressler, 54, and Democratic congressman Tim Johnson, 46, has been the most intense in history. Johnson's ads have played up on prison overcrowding, campaign finance, an economic and somewhat abhorrent Rhineland Schuler and Harvard law graduate, to Forrest Gump. Although Pressler has been in the Senate for nearly 20 years, his achievements are seen as thin even by members of his own party. Johnson has also been hit by a puppet of giant corporations and

recovered from a waiting to destroy Medicare. Pressler hits Johnson as a "tax-and-spend" liberal. But the senator has been damaged by revelations that he spent nearly \$200,000 over the past five years on expensive travel with no proper accounting. Although Johnson claims to be ahead, pundits note that Pressler has a better shot at spending on last-minute TV advertising that could still save him.

MINNESOTA: Six years ago, Democrat Paul Wellstone, a left-leaning college professor, defied incumbent Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz in a very close race. This year, Boschwitz, a 65-year-old millionaire businessman, is out for revenge. He made major gains by portraying Wellstone as too liberal, particularly on issues such as crime and welfare. Wellstone even opposed the U.S. offensive during the Persian Gulf War period. But Boschwitz has failed to provide an appealing program of his own—and his long-term interest has been to turn all voters in one of the few remaining states where the liberal is not a dirty word. The Republicans had targeted 20-year-old Wellstone as the Senate's most vulnerable Democrat. But now insiders believe that Boschwitz could be defeated again—this time by his own overly negative campaign.

NORTH CAROLINA: The best in on for ultraconservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and principal author of the controversial Helms-Burton law that punishes foreign companies doing business with Cuba. Challenger Harvey Garner, a 50-year-old black architect and former Charlotte mayor who lost to Helms in 1990, is running rock and sock with the long-term incumbent. At first, Helms, 71, showcased his style of post-campaign, which were often spiced and racist, and tried to project a kinder, gentler image in a state where an influx of high-tech industry and northern professionals has diluted the conservative base. He also played down his violent opposition to abortion, gay rights and affirmative action. As the race tightened, Helms turned to attack ads that accuse Garner of supporting homosexual marriages, which Garner denies. And he told the Charlotte *Observer* that he wants to cut out any spent on people with AIDS because they have the disease due to their own "selfish, disgusting, revolting conduct."

SOUTH CAROLINA: At 82, Republican Senator Strom Thurmond is seeking an eighth term in office. If he wins, as expected, he could be in power until he is 100. Already, he is the oldest senator in history and next year he will take the record for the longest-serving—42 years. Garner, 42 years, grows up with it. But he shambles rather than walks, his hearing is poor and he is increasingly lost in complex debate. More importantly for voters, however, he continues to shuffle federal contracts, grants, loans and jobs into South Carolina via his chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee, on state grants more pork. His primary honesty adds to his enduring appeal. And while the Democrats thought they could best him with 65-year-old Eliot Claiborne, a real estate developer and trouble bar who calls for "Yankee and new blood," pro-life Thurmond more than 10 points ahead. The senior senator wants to die in the U.S. Capitol, and South Carolina voters seem prepared to grant that last wish.

ANDREW PHILLIPS and WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

HOW VERY DIFFERENT WE ARE

A poll shows how Canadian and U.S. attitudes vary on family, politics and religion

BY RAE COHRELL

On a map, Canadian and American border towns—and the hamlets scattered in between—look like paired beads strung along opposite sides of the 8,899-km frontier. The people who live there can trace different allegiances. But for generations, modified by proximity and circumstance, they have shared the good times and the bad, coming together to fight fires and floods, to dance at one another's weddings and to mourn at funerals. The result is that an uneducated reader to those communities where North meets South might well conclude that they are more or less indistinguishable. But as a comprehensive two-nation Angus Reid Group poll clearly shows, the view at the crossroads is highly deceptive. For there are profound differences in the attitudes of Americans and Canadians towards politics, social issues and religion.

★ SPECIAL REPORT

It surprised me," said Angus Reid senior vice-president Andrew Grenville, who directed the poll, "that the two nations—which really share so much, could be so vastly different in outlook."

Titled *God and Society in North America*, the survey was financed by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, a Philadelphia foundation that supports cultural, educational and religious research. It encompassed 6,000 adults—half in Canada and half in the United States—and probes political leanings and religious beliefs on both sides of the border. Conducted as the eve of a presidential election in the United States and with the prospect of a Canadian election in 1997, the poll asked questions about subjects ranging from political preferences and social concerns to God, religion and morality. And while there was surprisingly little cross-border consensus in most of these areas, the most striking contrast was in how the respondents defined and ranked important national issues. Some of the findings:

• For Canadians, jobs are the most important national issue. For Americans, it is international affairs. On Quebec,



■ Cross-border poll from Dunsmuir, Que., to Fort Covington, N.Y.

the level of concern about jobs and the economy was far greater than the rest of Canada and indeed the highest of any region in North America.)

• As their number 1 objective, Canadians chose building the economy. Americans opted for protecting the family.

• Decided voters in Canada are roughly equally motivated by liking their candidate or party and their dislike of the alternate view. Most Americans really prefer the candidate they support, and what they think of his opponent has less influence.

• Significantly more Americans say they go to church, pray and read the Bible than Canadians.

• More than twice as many Americans say religion influences their political thinking.

How solid is the vote?

CANADA	Liberal	PC	Reform	NDP	BQ
Total support (selected voters only)	58%	14%	12%	8%	7%
Very committed to party	18	24	23	28	13
Not very committed to party	40	48	40	26	54

UNITED STATES	Clinton	Dole	Perot
Total support (selected voters only)	54%	32%	7%
Very committed to candidate	49	44	29
Not very committed to candidate	28	20	36

The poll results clearly indicate that voters in the two countries will approach the ballot box with vastly differing agendas. For example, while 46 per cent of Canadians who took part cited jobs as the top issue, 42 per cent picked national unity, 24 per cent the economy, 21 per cent the deficit and 16 per cent health care. No more than a quarter of Americans, however, assigned priority to any one issue. International affairs was the choice of 24 per cent, followed by education and crime/violence (20% each), drugs—which barely registered among Canadians—the economy and the federal deficit (15% each), and health care (14%). Only nine per cent cited jobs.

When the U.S. and Canadian responses in each category were compared, the divisions between the two societies became even more apparent. For instance, although the Canadian unemployment rate of 9.9 per cent is nearly twice that of the United States, jobs are cited as a concern far less frequently by Canadians than Americans. Canadian respondents also exhibit a substantially greater worry about the federal deficit and the economy generally. On the other hand, twice as many Americans show concern about education, and five times as many about crime and violence.

Within Canada, jobs were of paramount importance in economically battered Quebec, cited by fully 66 per cent of respondents. With unemployment at 12.6 per cent in Montreal, Parti Québécois leaders gathered this week in search of ways to revive the devastated provincial economy. The Atlantic provinces (30%) were the only area where concern about jobs registered above the national average. The lowest was Alberta (22%). National unity was a more uniform preoccupation across the land, most highest in Quebec (45%) and lowest in British Columbia (30%). Alberta, upset by severe cutbacks in health care and education, reflected above-average interest in those issues, but Ontarians, just beginning to feel the bite from their government's spending cuts, gave those concerns no greater emphasis than the nation as a whole.

When the poll questions focused on discernible national objectives rather than existing issues, the cross-border distinction was striking. In a list touching on the economy, law and order, the environment and morality, one-third of Canadians put the most emphasis on building the economy while roughly the same percentage of Americans selected protecting the family. "It's not that Americans aren't concerned about their economy," Grenville said. "But they've developed an almost morbid fear that the rural side of their society is slipping away and that the whole thing could come apart if they don't pay

Different priorities

Percentage naming among "most important issues" facing their country:

	CAN.	U.S.
Jobs	46	9
Unity/Quebec	42	—
Economy	24	15
Deficit/debt	23	15
Health care	16	14
Education	6	20
Defence	—	20
International issues	4	24
Crime/violence	4	20
Welfare	3	12
Drugs	1	15
Poverty/poor	3	7
Abortion	—	6

Local concerns

The top issues in Canada's regions:

	B.C.	Alta.	Man./Sask.	Ont.	Que.	Atl.
Jobs	53%	53%	40%	45%	61%	50%
Unity/Quebec	36	44	37	43	45	40
Economy	23	21	28	21	33	19
Deficit/debt	35	26	29	24	26	12
Health care	12	27	29	16	11	16
Education	6	13	8	11	5	12

The top issues in U.S. regions:

	Pacific	Mountain	Midwest	South	Northeast
Defence/Intl.	25%	22%	22%	25%	26%
Education	23	17	22	16	22
Crime/violence	17	22	21	23	21
Economy	17	19	19	14	17
Deficit/debt	11	24	19	14	12
Health care	12	13	16	12	17
Drugs	12	13	16	17	14
Welfare	16	6	15	19	14

HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

This poll, funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia, is based on 6,000 telephone interviews across the United States and 3,000 across Canada conducted between Sept. 19 and Oct. 10 by the Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group. Results for each country are accurate within a margin of 1.8 percentage points, 1.9 times out of 20. The margin increases for regional differences within those samples. For comparisons between the two countries, the margin of error is 2.5 percentage points, 1.9 times out of 20.

attention to their morality and values." Respondents in the two nations put much the same emphasis on the need to maintain law and order. But Americans were more than twice as likely to cite the importance of rising moral standards.

Who best to resolve all these challenges? In Canada, 55 per cent of the poll's decided voters picked Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Liberals. Fifty per cent would go with the Conservatives, 12 per cent with the Reform party, eight per cent backed the New Democratic Party and six per cent the Bloc Québécois. The U.S. respondents heavily backed President Bill Clinton—54 per cent—to Republican Bob Dole's 33. Maverick Ross Perot got the nod from seven per cent.

But for some politicians, there was little comfort in a electoral lead. In Canada, for instance, only 46 per cent of decided Liberal voters said they really liked the party, 50 per cent said they disliked the alternatives more. Similarly, 67 per cent of the separatist Bloc's supporters said they chose it because they could not abide its rivals. In the United States, a large majority of voters behind both Clinton and Perot said they liked their candidate. Dole's support was softer; 47 per cent of those who said they would vote for him were motivated by dislike of his rival.

Meanwhile, the growth of the so-called Christian right, both in numbers and political activism, was reflected in the poll's exploration of the often subtle and sometimes surprising influences of religion. Overall, it is the "highly committed" Christians of all stripes—the ones who attend church, pray and read the Bible most often—who demand morality in politics and who, at the same time, are most inclined to volunteer work in associations and initiatives.

In Canada, although a third of the highly committed evangelical Protestants among the respondents said they would vote Reform, nearly 60 per cent favored the Liberals. Adherents of the mainline Protestant faiths (United, Anglican, Baptist, etc.) were strongly Liberal, as were more than two-thirds of highly committed Roman Catholics. South of the border, Dole was the solid choice of highly committed Evangelicals and mainline Protestants, and Clinton attracted less-committed Evangelicals, Roman Catholics and voters of no religious affiliation.

When the tables were turned and the candidate's religiosity—rather than the voter's—came into play, the two countries were far apart. Asked whether they would vote for a government leader who was either an evangelical Christian, a Muslim or an atheist, a large majority of the Canadians would accept any of the three. When these responses were broken down by religion, each of the hypothesized religions got at least 50 per cent support across the board—except for the highly committed evangelical Christians who turned thumbs down on the atheist.

It was a different story in the United States. Most Americans would vote for an evangelical Christian president and, in spite of the Gulf War, well over half would cast their

**28% in Canada ...
55% in U.S. ...**

**... believe the Bible is
God's word, to be taken
literally word for word**

**21% in Canada ...
43% in U.S. ...**

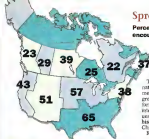
**... read the Bible at
least weekly**



Flag display in a house on the Quebec-Vermont line, started frontier

Differences and similarities

	CANADA	U.S.
Would rather have neighbors my own race	14%	22%
The number of immigrants should be reduced	55	67
Boys should have the same rights as others	66	64
Regulation of abortion infringes on women's rights	62	62
We need to protect the environment even if it costs money/job	74	65



Religious practices

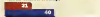
Religion plays an important part in life:



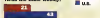
Pray weekly:



Attend church weekly:



Read the Bible weekly:



Spreading the gospel

Percentage who say: "It is very important to encourage non-Christians to become Christians."

billions for a Muslim. Not so for an atheist, who would get just 43 per cent of respondents' support. Only the highly committed Evangelicals rank the Muslim less than 26 per cent. But the atheist was soundly rejected by Evangelicals, the mainline Protestants and the highly committed Catholics.

Those cross-border distinctions, says Glenn Vandermaede, national public affairs director for the Toronto-based evangelical lobby group Christian for Public Justice, point to a greater willingness by Canadians to judge candidates by performance rather than their professed religion. "Canadians are interested in what a candidate represents as leader of core values," says Vandermaede. Americans, on the other hand, says historian Mark A. Noll of Wheaton College in suburban Chicago, are "more sensitized to religious labels."

Religion's role in politics became more clearly defined

The religious groups

I think of myself as...

CANADA U.S.

Christian 68% 76%

Nothing in particular 16 39

Agnostic 2 2

Atheist 3 1

Jewish 1 2

Muslim 1 <1

Other non-Christian 1 1

Something else 5 6

Don't know 1 1



Who goes to church?

Church in the middle of the pack



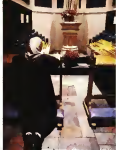
when the respondents were asked about their responsibility to the process beyond merely choosing candidates. Responses on both sides of the border, said the polling firm's president, Angus Reid, show profound differences between the two countries, "which on many other dimensions attitudinally look the same." Well over half the Americans felt traditional Christian values should have a major influence in politics (56%) and that Christians should become involved to protect those values (54%). A minority of Canadians shared those positions (35% and 41% respectively). And more than twice as many Americans and religion was important in their political thinking (41% to 19%). But the level of conviction in both countries on all three points diminished sharply among respondents who attended church less frequently.

Religiosity, then, were huge swings. In Canada, the proportion of those who believe that religion is important in political thinking was highest in the Atlantic and the Prairies, although even there the idea was endorsed by fewer than one-third of the respondents. The weakest endorsement for the value came from Quebec, at nine per cent. By comparison, the idea generated substantial enthusiasm in the U.S. South (49%) and Midwest (41%) and its lowest support was still higher

this way of the Canadian numbers. On the question of religious affiliation, significantly more Americans than Canadians identified themselves as Christian—78 per cent compared with 68 per cent. At the same time, religious indifference was higher in Canada, where more than one-fifth of the respondents said they either had no sectarian affiliation or were agnostics or atheists, compared with 13 per cent of the Americans. Across regions of North America, the strongest Christian identification was in the U.S. Midwest and South, and in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. British Columbia showed the least interest at all.

The Christian respondents in each country were divided into three groups—evangelical Protestant, mainline Protestant and Roman Catholics. Fully half of the Evangelicals in both nations reported they were highly committed to their churches. But only about one-third of mainline American Protestants and Catholics say they are highly committed, and that support level was even lower among comparable Canadians—20 per cent among Catholics and 14 per cent among Protestants.

That pattern was clearly evident else-



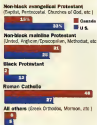
▲ For many churchgoers, Americans are more religious

where. For example, nearly three-quarters of the Americans said they prayed weekly compared with less than half of Canadians. The U.S. South had the highest proportion of weekly supplicants—77 per cent—and again British Columbia had the least with slightly more than half that number. Even so, prayer was a far more popular religious activity in both countries than weekly churchgoing and Bible reading.

Only in the American South did more than half the people say they read the Bible every week, at the other end of the scale, in once-dominant Roman Catholic Quebec, that figure was 32 per cent. Canadians who say they read the Bible at least weekly topped 30 per cent only in the Atlantic provinces. When it came to church attendance, the results were roughly similar—highest in the American South and Midwest, lowest in Quebec and British Columbia.

More than four-fifths of Canadians said they did not have to go to church to be good Christians. And when asked to name the most important religious leader in their country, seven in 10 Americans had someone in mind—most often Billy Graham. Canadians, collectively, drew a blank, with three-quarters unable to name anyone. The most commonly cited Pope, by just six per cent of respondents, including just 30 per cent of highly committed Catholics.

Christians by major denomination



Religion and politics



Percentage willing to vote for a party led by a . . .



YOUNG ENTREPRENEUR AWARDS



In October, young entrepreneurs from every Canadian province and territory, representing 12 companies, came to Vancouver to receive a special award. They are the 1996 winners of The Young Entrepreneur Awards, a program established by the Business Development Bank of Canada in 1985 to recognize and encourage our next generation of business leaders. Before celebrating their 30th birthday,

each of these young people demonstrated the foresight, drive and courage needed to build a successful business from scratch. Their stories appear on the following pages.



One Of Their Biggest Achievements Is Showing Others It Can Be Done.



Steve Boudo
NAMES MEDIA SERVICES GROUP
ST. JOHN'S, ATLANTA



Jennifer Carson
SOUTH EAST DESIGN
HALIFAX, NEW SCOTIA



Philip & Richard Savelle
VIRAL APPLICATIONS SOFTWARE INC.
BURLINGTON, ONTARIO

With Young Entrepreneurs like these, Canada has a great future. Scotiabank is proud to celebrate the success of these dynamic business leaders. Their commitment to excellence, both in business and community, is an inspiration as we strive to be the best bank for business in Canada.

Scotiabank

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The spirit of youth and entrepreneurship

One of the things I look forward to every fall is knowing the Young Entrepreneur Awards, an event sponsored by the Ontario Development Bank of Canada, to recognize the achievements of young Canadian entrepreneurs. It takes us young people from each province, and territory, about their businesses and their plans and dreams to truly an inspirational experience. And one that I would like to share with you on the following pages.

In addition to their youth — they must be 29 years or younger to enter — our 1996 winners show a number of characteristics. Someone thought to tell them it takes a lot of time to do the so-called "overnight success." Instead of succumbing to statistics that say there are fewer jobs for today's young people, they created their own jobs — and in most cases, they also created employment for others.

Their ability to see opportunity where others perceive only obstacles is just as impressive as their ability to identify risks. This year's winners, for example, are involved in a wide range of new economy and emerging market businesses including creating Web sites on the Internet, environmentally friendly home renovations, software development, manufacturing and sales of a unique water craft and exporting hardwood flooring to U.S. and Asia Pacific markets.

Although our winners have already succeeded in business, to help them continue to grow and prosper, each winner is matched with a prominent business mentor from his or her respective province or territory. Throughout the year, the young entrepreneurs receive advice and encouragement from someone who understands how to manage a business and make it flourish.

Helping from some of the country's past mentors have shared with me encouraging young entrepreneurs to reach ever greater heights is a truly rewarding experience. Still, mentors deserve our thanks for carefully giving something they no doubt wish they had more of — their time. Brief profiles of this year's mentors are also included on the following pages.

From a personal point of view, being part of the Young Entrepreneur Awards fills me with pride and optimism for the future of our country. I know you will join me in taking the spirit of entrepreneurship that this year's winners so aptly demonstrate. They possess the kind of spirit we honor every day at BDC — a restless quest for the next frontier.



François Beaumont
PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Newfoundland and Labrador

HOMI-CARE BUSINESS HELPS PEOPLE BREATHE EASIER

Growing up just outside St. John's, Terence Peach, 29, always believed owning a company would be his ticket to success. He based the business idea he was looking for when a guest lecturer spoke to his respiratory therapy class at Carleton College in Kaituma, B.C., about opportunities in the growing home-care field.

When Peach graduated from his course in 1991, he returned to Newfoundland to take a job at Jersey Child Health Centre, the St. John's hospital where as a child he had spent four years being treated for lung ailments.

While working at the hospital, Peach quickly planned a respiratory therapy home care business with the help of the Y-Entrepreneur Centre. In 1992 he took a position as Clinical Instructor with Carleton College and later that year launched Respiratory Therapy Specialists Inc., which recently provides oxygen and equipment to patients released from hospital.

The company has achieved 100 per cent year-over-year sales growth in each of its last three years of operation and Peach has left the college to work full time at his office in St. John's.

"Customer service gives us our edge over the competition," he said. "We take the time to make sure our customers are comfortable. We will go back to their homes in many areas as necessary."

Peach now employs a full-time respiratory therapist as well as five part-time therapists in communities outside of St. John's. "It's a lot of work but it's exciting," he said. "I would like to become one of the largest employers of respiratory therapists in the province."



MEET THE MENTORS

Peach's mentor is Owen Tuckey, founder and president of Kaye Technical College, a private post-secondary institution offering an full-time diploma programs. Kaye has been at the forefront in private education throughout Labrador and Newfoundland with over 10 full-time campuses. In 1992 Tuckey was awarded the Governor-General Medal for his notable contributions to Canada and to the community.

Nova Scotia

A PLACE FOR GROWING GREEN BUSINESSES

Jennifer Carson is Queen Tuckey's daughter and president of Kaye Technical College, a private post-secondary institution offering an full-time diploma programs. Kaye has been at the forefront in private education throughout Labrador and Newfoundland with over 10 full-time campuses. In 1992 Tuckey was awarded the Governor-General Medal for his notable contributions to Canada and to the community.

Carson, 29, is regularly recognized on the streets as host of the Atmospheric Atmosphere, a 100% natural television show set in her and her husband's 100-year old house. The show focuses on renovating homes economically and environmentally by using recycled construction materials. And D&D concerns for sustainable design and construction runs through all Carson's business interests.

"It's how I've lived personally and how I see things can work economically," she said. "And even though there are such different markets and different businesses it's all based on the same idea."

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Business Development Bank of Canada
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ENTREPRENEUR



Besides being vice-president of Puck and Solitaire Productions Ltd., which produces the TV show *Corson Is the Word*, Jennifer Corson is president of The Renovator's Resource Inc., a retail warehouse company that deals entirely in reclaimed materials that would otherwise end up as waste.

She began her career in 1991 by starting Solitaire Design, a residential design firm she continues to operate with a partner that focuses on sustainable construction techniques including solar and other alternative energy design.

And she is a partner in Jencon Consultants, a firm set up to assist the construction industry to recognize the value of recycling and reusing construction materials.

"My business is very supportive of my involvement in the other businesses that I have," Corson said. "So they certainly facilitate me juggling back and forth."

MEET THE MENTOR:
Corson's mentor is John Henry Bessler, and president of Gloucester Fine Foods Incorporated, a Halifax-based seafood processing, processing and distribution business. Gloucester Canada's largest privately owned seafood business, operates eight processing plants throughout Atlantic Canada and Quebec and a fleet of ocean-going fishing vessels. Mr. Bessler is also chairman of the Building for Our Community, a campaign to raise \$20 million for shelter for new housing.

STUDENT TAPS MARKET FOR WATERFOWL CALLS

Chris Faulkner decided in 1993 to mix his interest in business with his passion for waterfowl hunting by starting a small company to craft and market high quality goose and duck calls.

"As a hunter myself, I recognized this as a potential business opportunity," Faulkner said. "There was the opportunity to develop something that could be quite lucrative and enjoyable. I saw it as a chance to create my own work."

Faulkner, a 24-year-old University of Prince Edward Island student, invested long hours teaching himself how to make waterfowl calls that would be aesthetically pleasing as well as effective in bringing geese and ducks within range of his gun. His handcrafted calls sit on his home using Corcoran wood imported from Mexico — the same wood used in woodwind instruments — and markets them under the slogan: *Price in Quality*.

Faulkner launched his business by selling his calls on Prince Edward Island and then expanded slowly until he had orders coming in from across North America.

Faulkner notes there is unlimited potential in the waterfowl hunting market with these million people participating in the sport across North America. But he says he wants to keep his business at a manageable size for now and see when the time is right to grow.



MEET THE MENTOR:
Faulkner's mentor is Gail Bess, founder and operator of the Ontario Wildlife Conservation Laboratory Inc., which produces high quality duck and goose calls. In addition to his business, Bess is president of the P.E.I. Business Women's Association and the 2003 winner of the Women Entrepreneur Award for the Atlantic province.

HYDRAULICS SPECIALIST TRIPLES SALES

Michael Scott, 29, began working for a hydraulics company while still in high school and has steadily obtained his papers as an industrial mechanic. In 1990, at the age of 20,

By 1990 Scott was a veteran of the business and already pursuing a successful career with a hydraulic-repair company. But he decided he would rather work for himself and at 23 he bought a piece of land in Dorchester, New Brunswick, near his home, and set up All Tech Hydraulic and Mechanical Inc.

Scott says one of his biggest challenges in the first years of running All Tech, which specialises in the maintenance, repair and sales of hydraulic equipment, was overcoming the misgivings of prospective customers about his young age.

"The first two or three years were very tough. We had to prove ourselves through sheer persistence," Scott says. "We're still very aggressive. We don't wait for the telephone to ring. We make them ring."

Scott's hard work has paid off. Since 1990, All Tech has tripled sales and now has 12 employees. Scott attributes the success to aggressive marketing, quality control, worker training and constant attention to customer service.

Responsibility and accountability are crucial at business today," Scott says. "We are into customer service 24 hours a day and we have been for six years."

MEET THE MENTOR:

Scott's mentor is J. J. MacNeil, the president and general manager of MacNeil's Hydraulic Ltd., a company that builds and develops used commercial properties. Mr. MacNeil was mayor of Dorchester from 1986 to 1994. He also served as a member of Parliament for five years. His other commercial activities include his work with Bird Land Limited and Atlantic Building Cleaning Limited. He is also the Chairman and CEO of The First Party Inc.



SERVICE AND GLOBAL SOLUTIONS KEY TO SUCCESS FOR COMPUTER SPECIALIST

Benoit Laliberté says he's feeling a little older than he 24 years these days as he manages the outstanding growth of his Jtec Corporation Inc., a company that manufactures install services and reliable computer hardware and software.

Laliberté began in business in 1996 as a 14-year-old student selling software and refurbished used computers from his home. By 1997 he had founded Corporation Jtec and moved into offices in St. Hubert, just southeast of Montreal, where he began building and servicing new computers.

Now the company not only manufactures the Vista line of computers but also has a separate division for computer repair and maintenance, another for the design and installation of computer networks and just another to run a chain of retail stores.

"We're competing against guys like IBM, Compaq and AST but we compete for our lack of size with service that is extremely complete and personalized," Laliberté said. "The company's edge is service and offering global solutions to our customers."

Laliberté said sales are doubling each year and the company has plans to expand aggressively into Quebec, back into the rest of Canada and Europe after establishing the necessary structures to manage the growth.

Our goal is to establish Jtec with all its divisions in several countries," Laliberté said. Jtec works as a package deal with people in place who have the knowledge and expertise necessary to offer our clients a full range of products and services."

MEET THE MENINGERS

Laliberté mentor is Paul Boudreau, president of Boudreau Group, a credit review, management and development firm. Boudreau is one of Canada's largest privately held integrated credit review companies, registered in the membership and membership of high credit review, credit, business and credit review and credit review. Boudreau is also a board member of the Bank of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Public Bank Ratings Companies and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Young Presidents' Organization (YPO).

BROTHERS TAKE ON THE WORLD WITH INNOVATIVE SOFTWARE PACKAGE

Philip and Richard Smart had already developed solid experience with computers by the time Visual Applications Software Inc. was launched in 1992.

The brothers, now 27 and 26, grew up watching their father, Ken, work in computer sales and both brothers had jobs with software companies while they were two years apart in the computer program at Brock University.

"From being very young kids we always had computers around," said Philip Smart, president of Visual Applications. "My brother and

I wanted to start a business right out of school so we went into something we knew about."

The company created a software package called FieldPro, which allows high-tech service organizations to track their business from customer calls to assigning technicians to monitoring parts inventory to evaluating the performance of service costs.

FieldPro offers other price for performance than the software that formerly dominated the market and can be run on desktop computers with the Windows operating system rather than requiring an expensive minicomputer.

The Burlington, Ont.-based company is doubling its sales every year and the bulk of its business is exports to markets in the U.S., Europe, Asia and Latin America. Ken is the company's success in building close relationships with customers and developing a good mix of personnel.

Our staff is a blend of older more established people and young people who bring a lot of energy into a company," said Richard Smart, vice-president for sales and marketing.

MEET THE MENINGERS

The Smart brothers are Paul Boudreau, president and CEO of Boudreau Group, a credit review, management and development firm. Boudreau has held a number of management and senior executive positions in Canada and the United States. Since his appointment to his current position in January 1995, Boudreau has led the firm in strong growth and profitability gains. He joined that year with a record-breaking \$10 million in revenue. For the second year running, Boudreau received several awards of merit from various industry associations for his leadership in Canada. Boudreau is also a member of the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI) and a member of the BCI Board of Directors on the Global Economy.

SURFING THE NET LEO STUDENTS TO BUSINESS VENTURE



Sigrid Frouze, 25, Luis Ruiz, 24, and Paul Obenik, 33, made a decision that would change their lives during the course of their last year at the University of Manitoba in 1994.

While doing research on the Internet, they found Canadian companies had virtually no presence in cyberspace while almost all major U.S. companies had already established Web sites.



PHILIP & RICHARD SMART
VISUAL APPLICATIONS
SOFTWARE INC.

As soon as was born and by early 1995 the trio had set up Ted Mark Enterprises Ltd. to create exclusive Web sites for organizations. The company has taken off with the explosion in interest in the Internet in recent months.

Our company's getting recognition in the business community and this translates into credibility when we approach a new client," said Frouze, who along with Ruiz attended the faculty of management at University of Manitoba. The confidence about what we know and what we can offer a company has grown over time and people sense that."

Frouze and Ruiz concentrate on sales, marketing and administration while Obenik, a political science graduate and a computer enthusiast, acts as project manager on the graphic design and technical side.

Frouze said companies are evaluating the commercial value of having an Internet web and Ted-Mark's sales are booming. The business has begun to have new clients outside its Winnipeg base in Toronto and even has a customer in New York. People are calling us and saying 'I know I need to be there. I know I want to be there. Tell me how to do it and tell me what you can bring to the table.'" Frouze said.

MEET THE MENINGERS

Adding as a member in Boudreau, Boudreau and Obenik to David C. Boudreau, president of Boudreau Group, the largest computer supplier distributor in Canada. Boudreau has been listed as one of Manitoba's 50 fastest growing companies for the past 10 consecutive years. With its head office in Winnipeg, Boudreau has offices in Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria. In 2000, the company was named one of the "Best Managed Private Enterprises" in Canada.

SHUTTLE CRAFT MAKES WORKS WITH WORLDWIDE DEALERS



Dan Beaulieu, 27, and Wayne Washington, 28, are water sports enthusiasts who met in business school at the University of Saskatchewan and with the help of their partner Trevor Nevean developed the ingenious idea for the Shuttle Craft.

The Shuttle Craft is a V-hull boat that is powered and steered by a personal watercraft. The personal watercraft directly plugs into the Shuttle Craft, making it possible to take friends, family and gear on a picnic or a fishing outing for half the price of buying a conventional boat.

The Saskatoon-based Shuttle Craft has enjoyed international success since it began manufacturing in 1994. Sales are expected to top \$24 million next year with about 700 dealers worldwide compared to about 50 million in sales and 250 dealers the year before.

"There was a lot of post-up demand for this kind of product,"

said Beaulieu, president of the company. "Shuttle Craft is gaining popularity and consumer acceptance every single day."

The company wants to become a dominant player in the recreation industry and believes hard work involved in developing its dealer network, led by Washington as director of global sales and marketing, will play a big role in achieving that goal.

"Building the dealer network has added substantial value to Shuttle Craft in terms of all the good will and strong relationships that have been created," Beaulieu said. "We have developed this company with hard work, determination and an incredible team of employees."

MEET THE MENINGERS

Adding as a member in Boudreau and Washington to David C. Boudreau, president of Boudreau Group, the largest computer supplier distributor in Canada. Boudreau has been listed as one of Manitoba's 50 fastest growing companies for the past 10 consecutive years. With its head office in Winnipeg, Boudreau has offices in Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria. In 2000, the company was named one of the "Best Managed Private Enterprises" in Canada.

WATER BOTTLER TAPS NEW MARKETS IN WESTERN CANADA

While still a university student, Steven Houlé, 26, studied a small bottled water service operated by his aunt and uncle and decided the water business offered a good mix of profit margin and growth potential.

Houlé took the plunge in 1990 during the third year of his commerce degree at University of Alberta by starting Spectra Water Systems Inc. in partnership with his father. The company has grown steadily and has established a distribution system throughout Alberta for its line of bottled water products. It is currently expanding into parts of British Columbia and Saskatchewan and looking at export markets.

"I definitely appreciate the direct rewards for performance in running a small business," Houlé said. "You do well, you get rewarded. You do poorly, you get punished."

Spectra has done well. It has achieved average annual sales growth of 60 per cent. In each of the past three years, employs 15 people and has plans to increase sales and expand its sales territory in 18 to 20 more cities, along with expanding, directly to offices, retail outlets and homes as well as wholesale to supermarkets and other stores. Spectra is also currently moving into production of 600-millilitre and one and a half-litre bottles.

Houlé says the company's growth potential is huge since bottled water is just beginning to catch on in Western Canada and export markets offer other tremendous opportunities.

"It's a matter of us pioneering the product and introducing it to all the people who haven't used it," he said of the Canadian market.

MEET THE MENINGERS

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"If my six-year-old
can make friends
on the Internet
from here to

Timbuktu,

surely someone
can get all the folks
in my regional offices
to work as a team."

MERGE

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British Columbia

HARDWOOD FLOORING COMPANY EXPORTS TO U.S. AND ASIA

Dave Sandover's family has been involved in hardwood flooring for three generations, so when he decided to start his own company after a stint in direct marketing, he naturally returned to the business he knew best.

**DAVE SANDOVER
METROPOLITAN HARDWOOD
FLOORING INC.**



Sandover 29 formed Metropolitan Hardwood Floors with partners Paul Anderson and Russell Steele in 1990 and after researching the market and supplies, they adopted the innovative approach of selling prefinished flooring directly from the mill to the customer. That not only cut out wholesalers but also the need for customers to finish the installed flooring.

Sandover gives a lot of credit for his company's success to the quality of his Quebec-supplied flooring. The company has also succeeded in aggressively promoting its products in B.C., the Yukon, the U.S. and Asia.

Metropolitan uses an array of innovative marketing techniques to build business, including do-it-yourself seminars and Japanese speaking sales reps to service the emerging Japanese market. Sandover says managing a business where sales are more than doubling each year is hectic, but exciting.

'A lot of people come in here and think it's like a stock exchange with the phones ringing and people on the go. There's a lot of high energy and that's exciting.'

MEET THE MENTOR

Sandover is mentor to Mr. Bob Bryant, president of Bryant, Fulton & Shaw, a full-service communications agency with the capability of providing advertising, business marketing, promotional marketing and public relations. Bryant is actively involved with B.C.'s Children's Hospital and serves on director and vice-chairman for B.C.'s Children's Hospital Foundation. Bryant is also a past winner of the Wayne Leeming Award for his distinguished service to the American Marketing Association.

Yukon

A GREEN THUMB FOR GROWING A THRIVING BUSINESS

Shawn Sutton 24, discovered her love and talent for floral design at the age of 15 when she took a part-time job in a floral shop near her hometown of Roseauville in southern Ontario.

Sutton continued to develop her expertise in floral design while studying English at the University of Waterloo and then in 1992 she travelled to Yukon for what was supposed to be just a summer job. She decided to make her choice her home after discovering what she calls 'the magic and the mystery of the Yukon' and in 1993 began a floral business in a small space on the local Canadian Tire store.

The business took off and in 1995 Sutton began expanding first by setting up a gardening centre beside the Canadian Tire store and then opening Northern Elegance Flowers and Gifts, a successful full-service flower shop.

Because of where we live and the climate, people love having floral designs in their homes," Sutton said. "Each floral design is personalized to match our customers' specific needs."

Since 1993, Northern Elegance has achieved an average of 800% increase in sales each year. Sutton attributes her success to hard work and perseverance in overcoming such challenges as

gaining the confidence of a bank and learning to transport perishable flowers in extreme cold.

"We are extremely service oriented and I feel that is the very first small business to give today," she said. "You need to have a wonderful product at a wonderful price but you also have to give that valued customer service."

MEET THE MENTOR

Sutton is mentor to John Michael North, president of Michael & Beth Stone, a Yukon company that specializes in jewelry made of gold nuggets. The grade of Michael & Beth Stone are hand-made and are often incorporated into the work themselves. The company grew rapidly in the Yukon, with the addition of seasonal stores in Whitehorse and now outlets in Fairbairn, Nelson, Lake and Dawson City.



**SHAWN SUTTON
NORTHERN ELEGANCE FLOWERS
& GIFTS IN GARDEN CENTRE**

Northwest Territories

VIDEO GAME/FRANCHISEE ENJOYS NOT SALES IN COLD CLIMATE

Steve Ramsey 26, became interested in the Microplay video game franchise while still studying at the University of New Brunswick. His uncle has a Microplay store in Iowa and is the area developer for the chain in the Maritimes.

He was making a go of it in Saint John, Ramsey says. "So I knew if he could make a go of it there, it might fly in Yellowknife."

When he returned to Yellowknife in 1996 after completing his political science degree, Ramsey pursued the idea of owning his own store. In November 1996, he opened a Microplay store under the Ram-Tech Ltd. corporate name.

Since then, the store has consistently ranked among the top 10 for sales among Microplay's 100 franchisees. Ramsey, who sells all kinds of video and computer games, attributes his success to the Northwest climate and the well-established popularity of video games.

"Video games have become a staple of entertainment and it's very cold here so you're always looking for something to do inside," says Ramsey, who has aspirations of one day becoming a member of Parliament.

MEET THE MENTOR

Ramsey is mentor to Ray M. Anderson, senior vice-president of Moore Transportation Systems, and Greater Yellowknife Van Lines Canada Ltd. Moore provides national gas and merchandise services to the Western Arctic and, as a member of Yellowknife's local business council, supports and advises others. Since its inception in 1988, Moore is a major market leader in the Northwest Territories. Yukon and Alaska. Anderson is the 1994 winner of the NW Business Person of the Year. Chamber of Commerce Award and a business advisory board member for Canadian North Airlines. ■



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WORLD SOUTH AFRICA

Crimes at the top

A police chief implicates the former president

The witness delivered his 30-page statement in a matter-of-fact manner. Onetime South Africa police commissioner Gen. Johannes van der Merwe appeared before Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, ostensibly to help the policemen who are applying for amnesty for more than 40 apartheid-era murders. But the former top cop's unswerving demeanor did little to dampen the suspicion he was creating. Quickly and deliberately, he admitted he ordered the 1988 bombing of the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg. He also agreed up to the bush-trapping of land grenades applied to student extremists by government double agents, which killed eight anti-apartheid activists in 1985. Van der Merwe was hardly the first to confess to a role in these crimes. But then he rolled out the big names: Former law and order minister Adriaan Vlok, he said, told him to arrange for police to bomb the building—and the order had come directly from former president F. W. de Klerk.

For the first time, someone at the very top of the law enforcement system had confirmed the role of Vlok and some of his most senior cabinet colleagues in the so-called "big three" conspiracy against the African National Congress. And it reached a turning point for the truth commission, which has been hearing testimony since April about apartheid-era human rights abuses on both sides. As deputy chairman Alex Beresma put it, "We're not talking about some technical allegations here." Beresma said it was now inevitable that Vlok would testify to the commission, either willingly or under subpoena. So he, the former National Party leader, has refused to comment on the allegations that have driven him into the center of the inquiry associated by his long-time nemesis, and now president, Nelson Mandela. But like many others, Vlok will likely have to confront the angry side of his—and the country's—political past.

That alone has vindicated Tutu's commis-



Van der Merwe wants to testify, Tutu insists. They can tell what happened, they will tell their

sion in the eyes of many South Africans, some of whom had criticized it for going too far with out consequences. To Matthews Phisoa, head of the ANC's legal department, the testimony showed that "this was the work out of meretric elements but forces concerned, aided and abetted by the National Party government whose primary aim was to destroy the ANC." Van der Merwe's postapartheid successor, police commissioner George Fiw, said the frankness of the revelations would promote national reconciliation.

Others do not agree. The National Party, which tried to distance itself from apartheid-era crimes under both its former and current leaders, says the truth commission will lose its credibility unless it also exposes the abuses of the ANC. "If the truth must come out, it must be the whole truth—not only half," says senior party official Pieter Schreiner. A survey in July by the publicly funded Human Sciences Research Council found a profound racial split in public opinion. Two out of three whites did not believe the commis-

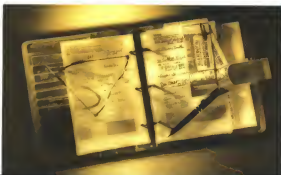
sion would promote reconciliation, while three out of five blacks thought it would. Race aside, however, 75 per cent of respondents were in favor of giving amnesty to those who confess their crimes.

That remains the deepest source of controversy about the commission, especially among those who have lost loved ones to apartheid's death squads. Last week, the relatives of three murdered black activists appeared before the commission to oppose amnesty for Col. Rudi Winter, one of the five policemen for whom van der Merwe had testified. Winter has admitted he led napped the trio in 1985 but denies a role in their subsequent execution. The relatives had hoped to learn the whereabouts of the bodies of Qagabo Gqobeni, Sapho Moko and Chumiso Golela so they could have proper burials. Winter offered no new information. But van der Merwe's sensational confession virtually assured absolution for Winter in the truth for amnesty bargain that is the basis of Tutu's commission.

For people like Ntsho Biko, widow of slain Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, truth alone is not enough. Biko died in 1977 after days of torture at the hands of security policemen such as those now pleading for amnesty before Tutu's commission. "I am afraid giving amnesty to murderers simply for telling about what they have done," says Ntsho, who believes even a month in jail would bring home to her husband's killers that they had done something wrong. "It's not good enough that they can just go and tell the commission what happened and then walk free—who's to say they will tell the whole truth anyway?"

President Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the black nationalist African People's Organisation, a Black Consciousness political movement, believes it is not in the ANC's interests to give Tutu and his aides more political power. The ANC, he says, "might find a cabinet minister or two in the dock for their own human rights abuses during the struggle." But an inquiry cannot replace a court of law, he argues. "Just to run to the truth commission as soon as things start to get hot and then get amnesty, that's not justice and it will never bring reconciliation—or true peace." The Gqobeni, Moko and Golela families would no doubt agree. But for many South Africans, the process is at least bringing them closer to the truth.

CHRIS EMMERTS in Cape Town



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World NOTES

CHIRAC REACHES OUT

The Arab world has a new hero: after French President Jacques Chirac's five-country Middle East tour, Chirac called for a Palestinian state, an Israeli return of land to Syria and Lebanon, an easing of the economic stranglehold on Iraq and more Western understanding of Islam. He is now the most popular European leader in Arab countries since Charles de Gaulle imposed an arms embargo on Israel after the 1967 Six-Day War.

JAPAN'S UNCERTAINTY

In the wake of Japan's inconclusive election, analysts expected lengthy talks before Prime Minister Ryuzo Hashimoto can form a new government. His pro-business Liberal Democratic Party scored major gains, but fell 12 seats short of a majority. The left-leaning Social Democrats, which could refuse as a coalition partner, demanded a ban on corporate political donations, which would be scathingly to the long-ruling LDP.

CHALLENGE IN NICARAGUA

It will be weeks before there is an official winner of Nicaragua's election. Former Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega challenged a preliminary count that gave an 11-point lead to right-winger Arnold Alemán, who has declared victory. Ortega's charge of "serious irregularities" named loans of uranium after an earthquake 60-per-cent water turnout. But few analysts believe the final count will reverse Alemán's victory.

A MAD COW LINK

A British study found a link between mad cow disease and the Creutzfeldt-Jakob brain diseases, bolstering the view that humans can get the disease from eating infected beef. The European Union said its ban on British beef will last until Prime Minister John Major honors a deal to slaughter nearly 150,000 cattle. But Major refused, calling British beef "perfectly safe."

O.J. GOES BACK TO COURT

A member of O.J. Simpson's slain wife Nicole Brown testified that he saw a vehicle like Simpson's while Ford Bronco driver Brown's home during the time she and her friend Ron Goldman were murdered. The actress appeared in the first week of a civil suit against the former football star, who was acquitted on criminal charges a year ago.



Deputies detain two men during the St. Petersburg disturbance: anger over a police shooting

RIOT IN FLORIDA: At least 11 people were injured and 20 arrested in the resort city of St. Petersburg during a night of street violence provoked by the police shooting of a black motorist. Angry crowds looted stores, burned businesses and threw rocks at riot squads. Police said two white officers, a man and a woman, had stopped a black motorist in a black neighborhood. Some witnesses claimed the woman officer shot the motorist without provocation, but police said his car had lurched towards the officers. State authorities were investigating.

A new refugee crisis in Zaïre

As aid workers said they feared a new genocide in Central Africa as fighting in Zaïre blocked food to tens of thousands of refugees. Nearly 360,000 of the 1.5 million Rwandese and Burundian refugees in Zaïre were fleeing fighting between local Banyarwanda Tutsi rebels and the Zairian army. Many told harrowing tales after walking far days. "There were women giving birth on the road and old people collapsing from exhaustion," said Georges Nshimura, a Hutu from Burundi. Saido Uptu, the UN high commissioner for refugees, made a radio appeal in an attempt to lure some of the wanderers back to their homes in Rwanda. About 1.1 million

refugees fled to Zaïre from Rwanda in 1994 during the genocide that left some 500,000 dead. The crisis has refused international appeals for them to return, apparently fearing reprisals. By week's end, the Banyarwanda Tutsi rebels were close to taking the city of Uvira. The Banyarwanda, who migrated to Zaïre 200 years ago, are fighting for control of the Kivu region and for citizenship, which they were denied in 1981. President Mobutu Sese Seko, meanwhile, has been in Switzerland since August pushing a movement for peace, fueling fears that the revolt could lead to the secession of Zaïre. Rwanda and Burundi, which both have Tutsi-led armies, denied aiding the rebels.

The Pope gives the nod to Charles Darwin

Pope John Paul II has given a major boost to teachers of the theory of evolution by stating that the Catholic Church does not think it is a heresy to teach that the human body may have evolved from earlier organisms, he said. "The spiritual soul is more fully created by God." The Vatican has never condemned Darwin's theories, but it had expressed concern that his "hypothesis" could promote atheism. The Pope's new statement may affect debates over teaching evolution in schools, which is often opposed by fundamentalist Protestants.

Taxing foreign havens

Taxes—and what to do about them—have called to Hansong Lau's popular Chinese-language radio show burning up the phone lines in Vancouver. Many of the more than 250,000 Hong Kong Chinese who have emigrated to Canada are reeling by a change to the Income Tax Act that will require them, like all other Canadian taxpayers, to reveal any foreign assets they have in excess of \$100,000. Under the old legislation, taxpayers were required to report their worldwide income (and pay tax on it), but not their worldwide assets. As of Nov. 1, however, they will be compelled to reveal their foreign holdings as Ottawa seeks to track down taxable income generated by money invested outside Canada or tucked away in offshore tax havens. Taxpayers will have to list everything from a cottage in the Caribbean to shares held in an offshore trust. Once it has the information, Revenue Canada expects to tap a deep pool of new cash that some analysts say could be worth billions of dollars.

Hong Kong businessmen and investors, huge numbers of whom have come to Canada in recent years, are particularly distressed. They became Canadian citizens in part to protect their assets from the mainland Chinese when Beijing takes control of the crown colony next July 1. They did not reckon on exposing holdings that they left behind, but still control from Canada, to scrutiny and potential taxation by Revenue Canada.

A delegation of them, speaking for various business groups of Hong Kong Canadians, met in Ottawa last week with senior departmental finance officials to plead their case for having the disclosure level raised from \$100,000 to \$1.5 million. The Canadian Bar Association has thrown its weight behind the businessmen, charging Revenue Canada is trying to collect so much information that it will drive investment from Canada. In the meantime, Lau's phones kept ringing. "We've had more calls on this issue than any other," says Lau. "The mood is very unhappy, very ugly."

Although the loudest outcry is coming from affluent Chinese-Canadians, many middle-income Canadians will be caught in the same net as Revenue Canada tries to find out how much cash and property Canadians own abroad. In the process, the department may slow the steadily increasing flow of money from the bank accounts of Canada's middle class to foreign tax havens. Paul LeBreun, a partner in the Toronto firm Harris & Harris, which focuses on international tax planning, says billions of dollars are being parked abroad each year by Canadians. Much of the foreign



Lau urging Ottawa to raise the disclosure requirement to \$1.5 million

income generated, LeBreun says, is never reported to the tax man.

The new foreign-asset provision is scheduled to become law in the next federal budget, but will be retroactive to Nov. 1. Brown now and budget day, expected in February, Finance Minister Paul Martin will face a mounting lobby that wants him to scrap the provision entirely or, failing that, to raise the disclosure level dramatically. But despite the angry reaction he has already incited, Martin intends to push ahead. Says Donald Drummond, senior assistant deputy minister for the federal government's tax policy branch: "There is no income being earned by these people that is not being reported."

Although many wealthy businessmen are threatening to move their assets out of Canada, Ottawa is making it more difficult for them to do so. A new withholding tax came into effect on Oct. 2 that is designed to help ensure that in the future the federal treasury gets a slice of money held in trusts that are transferred out of the country. The new rule requires individual sole or common transfers of the funds to first pass a bond with the government. The bond could then be used against future tax liabilities.

In May it was revealed that in 1991 the Berlusconi family of Montreal, which controls distilling giant Seagram Co., had moved \$2 billion that was being held in trust out of the country without immediately paying capital gains taxes on the money. Although the Berlusconis took the precaution of obtaining a revenue ruling from

National Revenue on the legality of the transfer, the move caused an uproar when Auditor General David Desautels said the transfer they have "compromised the intent of the law."

But analysts say Ottawa will find it difficult to monitor the movement of assets out of the country because the government has no real way of knowing when large volumes of money leave Canada. "We're not saying the money can't leave the country," said Drummond. "But we think if the gains occurred in Canada, the tax should be paid in Canada."

The \$100,000 disclosure rule and imposition of the withholding tax have sent waves of anxiety abroad, according to firms across Canada. Bill Lawler, a partner in KPMG in Toronto, said he expects taxpayers will become doubly alerted this spring when they see the extent of the information that Revenue Canada wants them to start doing on their foreign assets. Other analysts believe the new tax measures are so draconian that they could drive investment out of the country. The bar association and the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants have submitted a joint brief to Martin, urging him to drop some of the foreign-asset reporting rules and modify the withhold-

Ottawa wants 'truckloads' of new tax information

ing too. The brief also raises concerns over what Bill Spender, a partner in the Toronto accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand, calls the "truckloads" of information that Revenue Canada will require from Canadians in the future. "It could have the effect of driving capital out of the Canada," Spender adds. "People may want to leave before their capital grows any more, or people just get used to living money into Canada in the first place."

Since Britain and China signed an accord in 1985 to return Hong Kong to China in 1997, Vancouver has become a mecca for wealthy, but nervous, investors from the British colony. While they have homes in British Columbia, many of them continue to operate businesses in Asia. When they become Canadian citizens, these investor immigrants were allowed to place foreign assets in trust for five years before they would become taxable.

Now they fear they will be trapped between their offshore business interests and the Canadian tax man. They worry that they will be faced to not only detail the extent of their holdings held in trust, but may also be hit with heavy capital gains taxes if they are forced to reveal the value of their holdings. "It's a joke," said Richard Lin, a Vancouver businessman and former president of the Taiwan Entrepreneur and Investor Association. "A hundred thousand dollars won't buy a parking space in Taiwan or Hong Kong. This kind of money is bound to scare people away."

Martin was concerned enough about the growing anger in the Chinese community to meet with a group of the embassy businessmen in Vancouver in early October. They told the finance minister that they believed many well-off Asian Canadians will return to Hong Kong if Ottawa presses ahead with the changes. Although there is little evidence to support such claims, Lin said it may be significant that there are 3,400 houses for sale in Vancouver's prime real estate compared with 400 just a few months ago. Some Chinese-Canadians apparently are moving back to Hong Kong—but this may be in response to a growing belief that the colony may not fare as badly under its new economic rules as was once anticipated.

Because of the extensive reporting that Revenue Canada will

now require, some analysts believe the proposal may slowly backfire. Tom Norrie of McGill University in Montreal, an expert on international flight capital, says there is a great deal of discontent with both politicians and the high levels of taxation in Canada. In fact, a Financial Post/COMPAR poll in May found that 77 per cent of Canadians would elect as their leader if they knew they were not going to be caught. With that kind of anger directed at the tax man, Norrie says, people who are determined to hide their assets will continue to do so. He also questions why the government would set the disclosure rule low enough to catch the middle class. "What right do they have to ask a plumber to declare how much he has in a Cayman Island trust when they let the Broadwins take billions out of the country?"

LeBreun, the tax consultant, also says that many of his wealthiest clients will likely now move more money out of the country because they believe the government's decision to hunt for assets abroad is a clear signal that it intends to eventually adopt full-blown currency controls to keep money in the country. Drummond says, however, that he believes Canadians will follow the new rules. Others are more sure. "I just don't see any serious reaction," says Albert Cheng, a Canadian who recently returned to Hong Kong. "How do you get them to file an overseas return?" This is a question that many people may find themselves weighing when they file their next returns in the spring.

TOM PENNELL in Toronto with DAVID THOMAS in Vancouver

GETTING ZAPPED

Highly motivated under the Income Tax Act for failure to file returns or properly report foreign property transactions will go into effect in 1991. Fines can range from \$500 per month to \$12,500, with additional penalties up to 10 per cent of the value of the foreign property. Penalties also apply to included taxpayers who should be concerned include Canadian residents who:

- have established foreign trusts
- receive or may receive payments from foreign trusts
- use trusts, corporations, partnerships or direct ownership structures to hold foreign property worth more than \$100,000

Inking an auto truce

Thousands of union jobs could still be lost

The outcome of the vote was never in doubt—not even before the ballots were counted. Striking automakers in Quebec made that much clear as they filed into a courtroom last week in a suburb north of Montreal to place a verdict on the agreement negotiated earlier between General Motors of Canada Ltd. and the Canadian Auto Workers union. “I think we’ll have to endorse it,” remarked Richard Fourrier, president of the 1,580-member CAW local at GM’s sprawling plant in Ste-Therese. The rank-and-file clearly agreed. When the votes were tallied, 90 per cent of the local’s production workers and 55 per cent of those in skilled trades accepted a new three-year pact with the giant automaker. “It might not be the best deal, but it’s a good deal,” conceded Fourrier. “Since all were present had while the machines belong to GM, the jobs belong to us.”

The union’s 25,000 members outside Quebec shared the same view. Like their colleagues in Ste-Therese, CAW members in 90 per cent of the CAW’s workers in factories across Ontario also voted last week to accept the new contract with GM, bringing to an end a bitter, nine-week strike that paralyzed assembly lines and parts suppliers across the continent, added more than 45,000 workers not only in Canada but also in the United States and Mexico, and likely cost the Canadian economy hundreds of millions of dollars. And now the union is turning its attention to Ford Canada, the last of the Big Three automakers yet to bargain for a new collective agreement. Talks are scheduled to begin this week. And even though a tentative strike deadline has been set for Nov. 6, few industry analysts expect a walkout. Fewer still are anticipating negotiations to be as protracted as those at GM. “We’re strongly into the strike,” said CAW president Rusty Hargrove, alluding to the earlier deals with Chrysler and GM. “We’ve got all the pieces, we just have to put the glue on. Hopefully, we can do that without a strike.”

For both the union and the company, the strike boiled down to jobs. GM wanted to cut staff by purchasing more parts and supplies from outside contractors. In turn, the CAW wanted to validate the idea of “job ownership” by forcing GM to retain in-house work as far as possible in its capacity. In the end, analysts and neither side scored a direct victory. “They negotiated the best deal they could realistically hope for,” said Nicholas Lefebvre, an auto analyst at Bear Stearns & Co., an investment bank in New York City. “There was no room for a big win.”

Quebec director Luc Desjardins, underlining the critical nature of the battle against further outsourcing by GM.

For GM, which is still trying to rebound from one of the worst financial debacles in corporate history when it lost \$10 billion in 1991, the new deal will give it the flexibility it needs to restructure. As part of that plan it wants to cut more than 32,000 workers from its labor force at \$95,990. Said Desjardins, GM Canada’s chief negotiator. “The agreement provides General Motors with the opportunity to run its business so we can improve ourselves.”

Despite the union’s long-term concerns, however, the automakers can point to immediate gains in the new pact. In an effort to ease the transition of those affected by the coming downsizing, GM is offering a \$42,500 buyout for workers eligible for retirement as well as guaranteeing the same wages and benefits for three years and the same pension benefits for nine years. The agreement also grants GM workers the same wage increases and benefit improvements as those granted Chrysler employees—including wage-cost increases in each year of the three-year contract and cost-of-living increases. As assembly workers saw rates about \$2 an hour, but a last-in, first-out overtime rule allow the worker to decide when he wants to put in extra hours. But as they talk on the line, many still know that time is running out on their jobs.

BARRY CAHOE is in Ste-Therese.



Hargrove celebrating the deal: both sides claim they got what they wanted

On High on a list of likely candidates to be closed at the new Saturn in an engine and brake plant in St. Catharines, Ont., which employs 600 people. “We were able to keep the plant open for another three years,” said Hargrove. “But in spite of that, several hundred people are still worried about their jobs.”

Similar concerns face the automakers at Ste-Therese. Half of the plant’s workers were laid off a year ago as a direct result of declining sales of GM’s Firebirds and Camaros, the two vehicles produced at the Quebec operation. Both cars are scheduled for redesign in 1997 and GM estimates that production will contract still at least 2000. But not even the workers at Ste-Therese harbor any illusions about the fate of the facility if the market for the once-popular muscle cars continues to slump once the three-year period of grace in the new contract has expired. “It’s not hard to foresee future important strikes,” admitted CAW

Quebec director Luc Desjardins, underlining the critical nature of the battle against further outsourcing by GM.

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BARRY CAHOE is in Ste-Therese.

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Deirdre McMurdy



The Bottom Line

The great divide

Frank Sinatra is known to his fans as the "Chairman of the Board." Bruce Springsteen is commonly known as "The Boss." But it is unlikely that either musician has ever taken the executive designation to heart.

On the other hand, a growing number of political leaders—including premiers Mike Harris and Frank McKenna—have begun to do just that. Harris and McKenna publicly refer to themselves as CEOs of their respective provinces. They describe their cabinet as the board of directors. They call their constituents shareholders or customers.

This public sector affection trend reflects a disturbing trend of directly applying corporate management theory to government. It reflects a narrowing vision, an obsession with measurement, quantification and short-term performance. Increasingly, public servants and policy-makers are issued high expensive management consultations with their sleek lexicon of business buzzwords.

It is not surprising that this shift has taken place. These days it is the essence of chic to be lean and mean. And the public sector is viewed as the absolute antithesis of that creed. Furthermore, at times of profound change, traditional beneficiaries tend to blur as people surge through an unfamiliar landscape.

Modern management theory fills the basic human imperative to impose order on chaos. Despite the lip service that is paid to decentralizing and loosening the hierarchical corporate structure, there is still a comforting element of tall hierarchies. The CEO is the hero who rides into town, downsizes the corporation, improves its competitive advantage and rides off into the sunset to write a book about his adventure. In fact, there's a booming niche market for the new breed of celebrity CEO autobiographer.

This strong central character, along with all the "New Management" jargon, provides an intellectual security blanket. It

offers the hope that if people diligently conform, cut and compete, things will fall into place. And order will eventually be restored.

Private-sector-style fiscal discipline is certainly a worthy model. And business and government face many similar challenges. But it is a mistake to assume that the same managerial template and standards can be applied to both sectors. Companies are motivated by profit and they are organized to maximize it. Although there is certainly a heated public debate under way about the broader social responsibility of firms, most of them continue to operate on the assumption that their first loyalty is to investors.

Many of the areas under government control—such as health care—are there precisely because costs and benefits cannot be easily analyzed, measured or managed. Governments do not have just one set of interests—like equity investors—where private-sector areas are inevitably entwined with others. For example, Canada has delicate foreign policy objectives to the Helms Burton Act, which allows the United States to attack companies that do business with Cuba—objectives that extend beyond foreign affairs into the trade and economic spheres.

The role of government is in transition for a variety of reasons. Budget constraints have curtailed social programs, technology has led to the decentralization of reform and authority, international trade agreements and global capital markets have created new power.

But whatever the outcome, business and government must preserve distinct values. The public sector should be lean. But it must not be narrow or mean. "Mean" will undermine the social-economic balance that allows business—and the individual—to prosper. As the "Chairman of the Board" might cross business and government fiscal reform, "Strangers in the Night," exchanging glances. And not management theory.

Business and government should have very different approaches to managing change

Unlike the other great 'Whisky Barons', he never acquired a big butt.



J.P. Wiser refused to age his whisky in 110 gallon 'butts'. "A barrel of that enormity," he said, "bequeaths absolutely nothing to its contents." Thus, all the whisky J.P. produced would acquire its unique smoky flavour and uncommonly mellow body in small 55 gallon casks.

The way J.P. saw it, the closer the wood

was to the whisky, the closer the whisky would be to perfection. These days very little has changed. In fact, every last drop of whisky bearing the Wiser's De Luxe name still spends a minimum of 10 long years ripening in charred oak casks, just as J.P. specified. When it came to making the very best whisky, he was Wiser.



HE WAS WISER.

BELL EXPANDS

Bell Canada International Inc. has joined with Britain's Cable and Wireless PLC and Mexico City's New York City to form a telecommunications giant. Based in London, the company, which will be known as Cable and Wireless Communications, will have assets of \$6.3 billion. It will provide Britain with television, telephone and internet services. The deal represents a significant restructuring as the British communications industry prepares for deregulation.

SALE OF THE JAYS

The Toronto Blue Jays are close to being sold to a consortium headed by Toronto real estate developer Murray Friedman. Belgian brewing giant Inverbeke SA, which owns the Jays, is poised to sell the team to Friedman and his associates, who include theatre producer David Milov, Peter Hensard, chairman of the Ontario TV network, TVO, and U.S. investors, for \$250 million.

BANKRUPTCIES SOAR

The economy may be gradually improving, but Canadians are going broke in record numbers. At the end of August, consumer bankruptcies were falling 30 per cent higher than last year, with \$2,012 Canadians suing away from their debts. During the same period last year, 42,000 people went bankrupt. Consumer bankruptcies hit an all-time high last year.

ETHICS FOR SALESMEN

Nearly all of the country's retail food firms and dealers have agreed to obey the industry's new voluntary code of ethics covering sales practices. The code prohibits the acceptance of controversial perks by food salesmen, including free trips. It also bars food salesmen from offering gifts to entice customers to buy their brands.

A PLEA TO DESJARDINS

The Quebec government is trying to persuade one of the province's major financial institutions to reconsider its decision to move its money management portfolio to Toronto. The giant credit union, Mouvement Desjardins, plans to relocate its \$2-billion Canadian equity portfolio to Toronto, where officials say it will be closer to its major investors. The provincial government, however, says the move would undermine Montreal's financial health.



The owner addressing the press: installing his papers will improve

Black strengthens his grip on Southern

Publisher Ron Coulson Black is continuing to tighten his grip on newspaper publisher Southern Inc. by offering to pay \$24 million for an additional 9.1 per cent of the company. Under the terms of the deal, Southern shareholders would receive \$18.75 each for their shares, leaving Black's Holdings Inc. with 50.1 per cent. Southern is Canada's largest circulation publisher, with 56 dailies, a

secondary suggested that Black intends to reduce the quality of his papers. He responded with a three-page denial and denunciation that he instructed all Southern papers to publish: "Unlike our former adversaries in the CBC and the desire procession of tired and authoritarian editors tread through their pages," Black declared, "we see no contradiction between quality and profitability."

that is a fact. "We haven't any editorial news or any financially sound of selling any stock of Canada," said Rogers. Still, he noted that another deal must be in the works. "We have made no secret of the fact that we are looking to a number of telecommunications companies concerning possible relationships and alliances."

FINANCING Rumors of an AT&T buyout

Rumors have persisted for weeks that Canadian Bell Canada Inc. is close to selling a minority stake in Canada's only nationwide cellular phone

company to U.S.-based AT&T Corp. Inc. Rumors, which first were spread by the CRTC to allow it to raise its basic monthly cable rate by 82 cents to \$20.11, is carrying almost \$1 billion in debt. The sale of 33 per cent of Canada's cellular phone network would be worth up to \$500 million. But company chairman Ted Rogers strongly denied that a

years reached \$475 million and Coors, which accounts for about eight per cent of Molson's beer sales, are being offered to \$38 million. Joshi said Molson was disappointed by the ruling. "The result is inconsistent with the legal advice obtained at the time Miller became a partner," said Joshi. As a result of the ruling, two Canadian bond-selling agencies have placed Molson Breweries corporate debt under review.

In the fickle hands of Lady Luck

Glean Stapleton has a dream. The Toronto ship personal mover wants to get rich for much—he just wants to make a million dollars and move in the top of luxury Freedom 55, perhaps. Try freedom 6/49. Stapleton, 34, is stating his hopes for future financial security on cashing on numbers on a Lotto 6/49 entry form. So far the most he has ever won is \$78. But realistically optimistic, he keeps buying tickets, spending about \$25 a week. "I like going for big things—if I lose 3, I lose it," says the Newfoundland native, who has yet to invest in a registered retirement savings plan. "Maybe if I keep on trying, I might win."

Stapleton is not the only one leaving his financial planning to Lady Luck. While Canadians picked a record \$83 billion in 1995, last year, an increasing number are betting on a quicker route to wealth. Spending on lottery tickets totalled more than \$3 billion last year compared with just over \$2 billion in 1990, according to Statistics Canada. Expenditures on other kinds of gambling—mostly casino and video lottery terminals—are equal to that, says Statistics Canada. \$1.9 billion last year. Broke down by household, the most recent figures show that in 1990, 60 per cent of Canadian families bought lottery tickets, plunking down an average of \$225 a year. "The people usually report anywhere half of what they actually spend on lottery tickets," says Kathleen O'Brien, the author of a recent Statistics Canada report on the gambling industry.

Most ticket buyers realize there are better ways to invest their money, but the fantasy of instant millions is still seductive. That is understandable, but it is the long run, lottery players are likely to make more money than on 1995, says Dave Chilton, the author of the popular financial planning guide *The Wealthy Investor*. "There's nothing wrong with having some fun," says Chilton. "But if you look at the mathematics, a lottery is essence is a long-term money loser."

In fact, a lottery player like Stapleton, spending \$25 a week on Lotto 6/49 over 20 years, could ex-



Buying lottery tickets in Toronto: even over 20 years there is little chance of winning

pect to lose half his money—about \$12,000 says Fred Happe, a professor of statistics and statistics at the University of Waterloo. He recently posted some lottery-probability information on the Internet at <http://www.theweb.net/Lotto>. Based on a typical Lotto 6/49 draw, Happe calculates that, over 20 years, Stapleton could expect to win about 500 fifth prize prizes of \$10 and 25 fourth prize prizes averaging \$73.50 each. But even after two decades, the chances of winning a bigger prize would be slim. Statistics

Canada works it out to .47 of a third-place prize at \$2,380, .01 of a second-place prize at \$10,500, and 0.0001 of a jackpot prize of \$2.3 million. "These numbers are averages, or expectations, rather than certainties," he cautions. In the final analysis, the odds against winning a million are about 14 million to one. Lottery players are more likely to be hit by lightning, notes Happe—the odds there are 1 in 10 million.

A 1994 mutual fund, on the other hand, may not earn a million dollars, but at least investors stand to make some money, says Brian Davis, a partner with The Aueron Financial Group, a Winnipeg financial planning firm. Between August, 1970, and August, 1990, the fund's \$100 million investment in the AGF Growth Equity Fund, for example, would have earned \$187,744, for a rate of return of about 12.3 per cent. "There's no magic to creating wealth," says Davis. "Begin by paying off your debts, then start investing, remembering always to pay yourself first." It's a lot more satisfying—and profitable—than paying your provincial government lottery.

AGAINST ALL ODDS

The chance of winning any prize in Ontario's Lotto 6/49 is slim—but also an average \$2-million jackpot. Even the odds of winning the minimum \$100 10th prize per just these correct numbers are the same as flipping six heads in a row.

PRIZE	ODDS AGAINST	EQUIVALENT NUMBER OF SUCCESSIVE HEADS
Jackpot	24,968,800 to 1	24 heads in a row
Second prize	2,380,650 to 1	21 heads in a row
Third prize	24,490 to 1	16 heads in a row
Fourth prize	1,055 to 1	10 heads in a row
Fifth prize	55 to 1	6 heads in a row

JOHN SCHOFIELD

FORECAST: RETAIL SALES Even though Canadians are experiencing the lowest interest rates in 37 years, retailers expect another difficult Christmas season, a Bnn & Boudreau Canada Ltd. survey shows. Less disposable income and increased competition from specialty discount stores are two reasons being given for the pessimism among retailers. 'Weak retail sales,' says Sherry Cooper, chief economist at Norwest Bank, are a reason for the Bank of Canada to cut interest rates further.

Cheaper plastic

Over the past two years, most of Canada's major banks and trust companies have introduced new, lower interest Visa and MasterCard accounts for customers who reselect paying 17 per cent or more on their credit-card balances. The lower-rate cards change between 9.9 and 12.9 per cent a year, resulting from a smart choice for people who routinely roll their balances over from month to month. But credit-card users who really want to save on interest should check out the less-than-ideal option: a credit card that draws on a personal line of credit. The annual rate can be as low as prime—now 3.25 per cent.

Card-based lines of credit are currently available from Canada Trust, Bank of Montreal and Royal Bank (in the Royal's case, the service is tailored for small-business owners). The cards function like any other, except that purchases are charged not to a separate card account, but



to the customer's overall line of credit. If the line of credit is secured by guaranteed investment certificates, home equity or some other form of security, the rate is the prime rate. If unsecured, the rate is usually 2½ to 3¼ percentage points higher. At Canada Trust and the Bank of Montreal, customers can also choose from among several card options, ranging from a basic MasterCard (36 a year at Canada Trust, free at the Bank of Montreal) all the way up to a debit-linked gold card with free travel insurance and other perks.

Who is eligible? According to Lucie Wilson, vice-president of unsecured lending at Canada Trust, lines of credit are based on a customer's credit history, record of employment and other factors. "Obviously, we'd want to ensure that they have the capacity to repay the loan, but I would say that most members of the public would probably qualify."

Mortgage discounts

Many current and would-be homeowners already know that it is possible to haggle over the interest rate when arranging or renewing a mortgage. But what they frequently do not know is how much of a discount they can expect to receive. If the lender volunteers a reduction of one quarter of a percentage point off the posted rate, is that a generous offer? Can borrowers often do better?

They certainly can, according to the latest information from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. Although the agency for the country as a whole has not yet available, the federal agency says that mortgage applicants in the Toronto area received an average discount of 36 basis points during the third quarter of 1996. (A basis point is one 1/100th of a percentage point.) In August, for example, when most financial institutions were advertising five-year mortgages at 6.5 per cent, the typical borrower negotiated a rate of just under

6 per cent. On a \$150,000 mortgage, that saves him or her a saving of \$52 a month.

The actual size of the discount depends in part on the strength of the mortgage market, says Will Dunning, a CMHC housing market analyst in Toronto. In early 1996, the average discount was 83 basis points. Since then, demand for mortgages has picked up and lenders have reduced their discounts slightly.

Average mortgage-rate discount at a five-year term, in basis points (100 = 1 percentage point)



Source: CMHC, based on Toronto-area market survey

factor is the amount of the mortgage. In general, a bigger loan qualifies for a deeper discount because the lender's administration costs end up as a smaller proportion of the interest paid. Besides, there's one "Everybody has some room to maneuver, but the lender is going to trade each borrower as a separate case, taking into account the size of the loan, the person's credit history, the quality of the property and so on." The important thing for borrowers is to remember that the posted rate is often just a starting point for negotiations.

Money Talks

Tips for snowbirds

Would-be "snowbirds" who are thinking of buying a winter home in the southern United States should be sure to secure the tax implications first, a new Royal Trust guidebook advises. In certain circumstances, rental income from such properties is subject to a 30-per-cent U.S. withholding tax. Free copies of the guidebook, *Planning a Winter Out of the Country*, are available at Royal Trust branches or on the Internet at <http://www.royalbank.com/english/world>.

Home makeovers

Simple, cosmetic renovations that refresh the appearance of a home offer the greatest potential payback when it comes time to sell the property, the Appraisal Institute of Canada says. The institute cautions, however, that homeowners should never expect a dollar-for-dollar payback. In a recent survey, members of the institute listed 10 projects that are most likely to improve a house's marketability.

Average payback from renovation costs	
Kitchen renovation	65%
Interior painting	60%
Bathroom renovation	64%
Exterior painting	62%
New furnace	50%
Finished basement	50%
Addition of main-floor family room	49%
Landscaping	48%
Separate living unit	42%
Energy efficient heating	38%

Missing the maximum

Canadians saved a record \$23 billion in their registered retirement savings plans last year, but fell further behind in maintaining their contributions. RRSP investors in 1996 contributed an average of only 1.2 per cent of the maximum, compared with 1.6 per cent the year before, Statistics Canada reported. If they had saved the total eligible amount, another \$17.7 billion would have been pumped into the retirement pool. Last February's federal budget revived the seven-year time limit for carrying forward unused RRSP contributions, but investors are still not allowed to go back further than 1991.



It's not exactly common knowledge, but many of the improvements on

the new Monte Carlo Z34 are actually made possible by a bunch of

Sunday drivers. Because Sundays are when NASCAR's racing elite

take a few race-brad Monte Carlos out for a spin. And these guys do

more than win races. They turn some of NASCAR's most legendary

tracks into high speed testing grounds for Chevrolet engineers.

Providing us with data on everything from aerodynamics and enhanced

suspension to powertrain technology, which ultimately finds its way

into every latest legal version of the Monte Carlo Z34 we build for you.

A sports coupe that's not about style alone. But instead, it's about

performance and safety that's talked and true. Proving that

what's behind the sheet metal is what wins every time.





Peter C. Newman

The man who made the medicine go down

"Choosing the

right printers

used to be

a real

no-brainer

until my

network got

complicated.

Now I don't know

what to think."

The Chrétien government's chief test in the 1997 election campaign will be Jim Paul Martin, the only cabinet member who has kept the faith by keeping his word. Against all odds, the finance minister has reduced spending by \$15 billion in four years, and will easily meet his target of wiping out the deficit by the end of the decade.

Martin is a class of his own. In their attempt to win public approval, other politicians resort to rhetorical flourishes, self-inflicted wounds, distortion of the facts, threats, threats, or even cheaper tricks. Martin prefers to be the agent provocateur of Canadian politics, having mobilized public opinion in support of one of the most painful cost-cutting exercises ever attempted by a Canadian government.

The finance minister has succeeded because he understands the engineering of public consent. He has been wise enough to follow the own line of Canadian politics—in just one year you can see a politician's rise, you don't have to be loved by the voters, but you sure as hell must be respected. (That sentiment sums up the difference between the still-revered Pierre Trudeau, who gave the country the finger and earned 15 years in power, and the still-hated Brian Mulroney, who tried to make himself the people's enemy and was eventually snubbed instead.)

Martin knew two things when he reluctantly agreed to be conscripted for the finance portfolio in 1993 by Jean Chrétien, then the freshly married prime minister. The first was that Chrétien, who had beaten him for the Liberal leadership, had pushed him into the finance portfolio slot for one reason only: to permanently rid him of an ambitious and capable rival. The second was that neither the Liberal party, nor Canada, would prosper unless his crusade to eliminate the deficit succeeded.

Faced with that dilemma, Martin made his choice. He knew that if he could achieve the impossible dream of balancing the federal budget, and do so with the blessing of Canadian citizens, he would not only lose Canada's independence but also emerge as the natural contrivance for the PM's crown—when it becomes available. One of Martin's problems in any future contest would be that the Liberals have always held to the notion that their leaders must alternate between French and English roots. At the moment, Martin represents a Montreal rising. Should he decide to make a run for the Liberal succession, he might be tempted to switch to Windsor West, the seat held by his father, Paul Sr., from 1955 to 1968 now occupied by the aging Herb Gray.

In his current battle to balance Ottawa's books, Martin has never wavered. Faced with an unbridled deficit of \$42 billion three years ago, Martin, in his 1995-1996 budget, will show a gap of only

\$26 billion between revenues and expenditures, with the difference due to fall below \$10 billion by 1998. He has become obsessed with his mission, treating the contents of the Treasury Board's blue budget spending estimates with the same intensity that a great climber gives a mountain face.

But now comes the second phase of his strategy. Having established his credibility, Martin plans to show that cost-cutting isn't his only skill. "You can cut your way to deficit elimination," he told me last week, during a late-night interview after one of his final visits to Vancouver. "But you can't cut your way to growth. The best way to handle the national debt is to get enough economic growth going so that the debt rate shrinks as a percentage of what we produce." That will be the goal of his budget next spring, when

he announces special industrial research incentives and makes the final selection of cuts that advance his economic vision for Canada. With interest rates at a 30-year low, Martin's calculations will benefit greatly from the resulting lower service charges on the national debt. Each interest-point drop saves the treasury \$1.3 billion a year.

"Canadians are looking for some person, or some institution, to articulate which direction this country should go," he contends. "And the reason they're denying authority is that they've discovered that politicians can't deliver genuine things they can't deliver. Governments must emphasize the things that are essential for a good standard of living, or simply a decent life."

That will prove to be easier said than done. In the past three years, Martin's cost-cutting has reduced the federal portion of total federal net spending by 30 per cent. This has resulted in a transfer of more of the costs of these programs to the provinces, which are also under financial pressure. "The provinces represented 25 per cent of our spending and we had to deal with it," Martin insists. "The provinces consistently tell us to cut at our backyard first. We did that, and besides, we don't have a backyard that's separate from the provinces."

One of the next budget's most contentious issues will be his declared intention of forcing Canadian taxpayers with overseas investments to declare their assets as well as incomes. The business community's reaction has been uniformly negative. "The next step would be to require all Canadians to list their assets both domestic and foreign," wrote Donald Haggart in a newsletter distributed by the accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand, "and the step after that would be to impose a wealth or capital tax. 'Big Brother' is moving along in Orwellian fashion." Martin flatly rejects such overblown accusations. "It's not the intention to tax overseas assets only to tax the revenue they generate," he told me.

The finance minister's next budget will tell this tale, and many others.

How Paul Martin engineered Canadian opinion to accept the pain of deep cutbacks, while keeping the public's respect

People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

Hallelujah for Richardson

While the faces of *Hallelujah*, a new television series being broadcast this fall on Yousa TV and CBC Mountain, are gospel music, viewers will also be treated to punk rock, folk and the blues. "It's an eclectic blend, rather than religious show, so we can wrap it in all kinds of music," says the show's host, Toronto singer and actress **Jackie Richardson**. "Good songs interest me and I don't care what you're in." The range of guest artists proves her point. Among them are pianist **Odette Jensen**, jazz and blues singer **Suzanne Hey** and singer **Margie Simpson**, who plays Peggy Lee in the touring stage play *A Chair Held With You*. *Hallelujah*, which was taped in Halifax in June, also features the **New Scotia Mass Choir** in all 13 episodes. Richardson—who is about to start filming *Ontario Gave*, a satire on the U.S. medical system directed by **Sidney Lumet**—says working with the 55-member choir was laborious. "I was knocked out."



Richardson good song interest me?



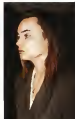
From Hollywood to Ottawa

When he was growing up in Ottawa, **Bryan Michael Stiller** had one goal: to be a successful filmmaker. "I was pretty determined," says Stiller, 35. He got started at age 10 making Super-8 documentaries. They caught the eye of CBC producers, who allowed

him to make his own television show, *Fake Film*, which was broadcast across Canada in 1972 and 1973. At age 21, he moved to Los Angeles, where he attended the industrial American Film Institute. After apprenticing with various directors, including **Stephen Spielberg**, and working on small-budget, independent movies, Stiller has reached the next level—directing feature films for big Hollywood studios. *Dragon Fury II* and *Torn of the Shide* were released earlier this year, while *The Rainbow Warrior*, starring **Dan Aykroyd**, will be released near Christmas. The movie, about a scientist who wakes up in a parallel universe, was filmed entirely in Ottawa, says Stiller. "It's not every day you can shoot a feature film and then go home for dinner with your parents."

In this corner . . .

A beauty queen is supposed to be beautiful. She is also supposed to be ladylike and a good role model. So what happens when a pageant winner is accused of most undesirable behavior? **Danielle House**, a 20-year-old nursing student from Grand Rapids, Minn., who is the reigning Miss Canada International, is quickly learning. House was charged last week with assault causing bodily harm after a worker was punched in the face in a bar in St. John's. The woman—who police say was with a former boyfriend of House's—was treated for facial injuries and a chipped tooth. As for House, even if she is ultimately



House: charged with assault

exonerated, she will not escape unscathed. Gang rules that an entrant cannot have been charged with an offence or have been involved in any situation which has brought her into public disrepute, opponents of the Nov. 23 Miss Canadian Queen International World pageant in Jamaica-based House from earlier pageant. House lost the crown.

her generation. "The negativity, the 'life sucks' attitude is not my thing," she adds. "I really am an eternal optimist." There is negativity far her to be optimistic about. The 23-year-old singer signed a multi-album deal with Sony earlier this year and is now in the midst of a cross-Canada tour promoting her debut CD, under disco rock and blues. Columbia

Records plans to release it worldwide in February. And Krievinskas is confident that coming from a city far from the major musical centers of the world makes little difference. "There are great artists anywhere—you could find the Van Gogh of our time in Yukon Territory or down the street," she says. "So for someone to come out of Winnipeg is not a big deal."

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Full-court press

Canada's teams shoot for a national audience

It was a meaningless pre-season game between the Toronto Raptors and the Golden State Warriors, little more than a chance for coaches and general managers to evaluate talent before dividing in their draft rounds. Yet on a cool, damp night last week when Toronto fans had some compelling alternatives—hockey's Maple Leafs were in town against the San Jose Sharks, and both the hockey game and Game 3 of the World Series were on TV—a supportive crowd of 14,768 showed up at SkyDome to watch basketball. The game had its moments: the Raptors got off to a fast start before falling by six points. And rookie for ward Maurice Carter, the Raptors' top pick from last year's college draft, showed flashes of brilliance. But for a second-year franchise coming off a losing season, the loyal following in the stands was as important as the quality of play on the court.

Canada's two National Basketball Association teams face similar challenges as they dig out a new season this week. In Toronto, the two major partners in the Raptors' ownership group are waging a bitter fight for control of the team. And after the excitement and novelty of the inaugural season, the excitement of the honeymoon is just about over. Fans expect better performances than they saw in 1996-1997, when the Vancouver Grizzlies won only 15 of 82 games, while the Raptors took 22. And although both the Grizzlies and Raptors relied among the NBA's big teams in attendance in 1996-1997, fan surveys and TV ratings indicate that there was little interest in NBA games outside the two major cities. "You can't just put games on TV and expect people to watch them," says NBA Canada boss Ken Derrin. "We need to promote our games, and that takes time."

Basketball, of course, was invented by Canadian James Naismith in 1891, and hundreds of thousands of people across the country play it recreationally. But that hasn't helped to translate into local-based spectator support for the pro game. A *National/CBC Newsweek* poll, conducted last spring, re-



Ablar Rahman closing in on the Raptors' player to get excited about

vealed that NBA basketball was preferred by only six per cent of Canadians—the bulk of them in Toronto and Vancouver—compared with 66 per cent for hockey and 29 per cent for major-league baseball. And CTV's NBA broadcasts last season averaged 410,000 viewers, well below the 1.5 million who tune in to *Hockey Night* in Canada each week. To extend their reach, the teams are exporting the NBA style "centered talent package"—throwing rap to use, fast-breaking moments and sexually-charged dance teams—to the arena. The Raptors played their first two pre-season games in Dallas and Ottawa, and last week the annual Grizzlies/Raptors Naismith Cup was staged in Calgary.

Rick Triest, executive director of Basketball Canada—the umbrella organization for amateur hoops—says it is too early to know if the two new NBA teams will in turn spark a greater boom in participation. "This is what happened following the arrival of major-league baseball's Montreal Expos (in 1969) and Toronto Blue Jays (in 1977). Participa-

tion was booming anyway. Triest says, besides one in the early 1980s as the NBA made Major League Baseball and Michael Jordan to unprecedented popularity in Ottawa. In its place, there were more than 500 teams competing in the provincial championships last year, up from only 68 in 1983. Triest says.

If basketball follows baseball's lead, at least TV ratings will rise when the teams put a better product on the court. In that end, the Grizzlies and Raptors, while hampered by restrictive league rules on salaries and draft position for expensive franchises, spent the summer retooling their rosters. "The Grizzlies were cross, who suffered through a grisly 23-game losing streak in our last season, hope that the worst is behind them. "We are better on paper, but the game is not played on paper," says Blake Edwards, a guard who was perhaps the Grizzlies' most consistent player a year ago.

The Grizzlies are trying not to put too much pressure on their top draft choice, Shaquille O'Neal Rahman, who is only 19 and played just one season at the University of California before turning pro. But the architect, architect, architect has been among the team's top scorers in the preseason and appears to have the ideal forward position in the Grizzlies' starting five alongside seven-foot centre Bryant (Big Country) Reeves. Ablar Rahman is making rookie mistakes, but he plays hard and is learning quickly. "He's a player who people around here can get really excited about," Vancouver general manager Sam Jackson says.

Raptors hopes, meanwhile, are riding on the six-foot, 11-inch Carter, who played centre at the University of Massachusetts. With intelligent, shrewd guard Dwyane Wade and point guard Damon Stoudamire, who was the team's leading scorer and the league's rookie of the year last season, Carter should add more bite to the Raptors' attack. "We haven't yelled yet on offense," says Toronto coach Danny Walker. "But we'll be better, no question."

So, too, will the game's national profile, basketball's pre-season hype—and they have every reason for long-term optimism. NBA market surveys and the *Madison* poll reveal that the game is enormously popular among kids, many of whom have traded their once-beloved Chicago Bulls jackets for ones bearing Grizzlies and Raptors logos. "This is basketball country," says Walker, an enthusiastic, then adviser. "But basketball is coming. You'll see."

JAMES DEACON



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Vagabond in the wilds

BY JOHN BIRMINGHAM

THE SPRING OF 1874 marked a watershed for Wade Davis. That was when the then 22-year-old native of British Columbia walked into the office of his Harvard professor, the eminent botanist Richard Schultze, and announced that he had saved some money and wanted to go to the Amazon to collect plants. It was an astonishing request. Davis had completed only two years of his undergraduate anthropology course and knew next to nothing about the rainforest. Schultze, on the other hand, was already a legend. He had spent 12 years in the Amazon, collecting 30,000 plants—including 300 unknown to science—and living among tribes still virtually untouched by Western civilization. He was also the world's greatest expert on plant hallucinogens he had brought to academia (a hallucinogen used by the Aztecs and the natural source of LSD) to the attention of the outside world, giving a model of unbridled passion to the drug culture of the 1960s.

As Davis tells it in his sixth book, *One River* (Dutton, \$27)—a compelling account of explorations in South America—the great man barely took time to consider. Leading up from his desk, he said simply: "When do you want to go?" Ten days later, Davis was in Colombia. There, he met up with another Schultze protégé, botanist Tim Plowman, and the two set off on a yearlong odyssey that took them the length of South America. *One River* describes that trip, and also—in even more detail—recreates the famous travels of Schultze in the middle of the century. The double-barrel focus of the book makes it one of the richest ever written about South America. Combining botanical lore, history, scientific recollections of native cultures and a good deal of old-fashioned adventure, it is as fascinating and densely written as the rainforest itself.

It is also a very different book from Davis's damian fire, *The Serpent and the Rainbow*, his 1986 explanation of the Haitian Vodoun

religion. That self-dramatizing, first-person narrative became an international best-seller, inspired a bad movie and led many commentators to compare Davis to the daring archaeologist hero of the *Indiana Jones* films. Certainly, Davis has had his share of trouble: he was once walked across the near-impossible swamp of the Darien Gap, between Panama and Colombia. And he shares Harrison Ford's rugged good looks. In Toronto recently to promote *One River*, the 43-year-old author signed Bar Grey tea while delivering anecdotes and facts with machine-gun rapidity. There is something driven about the man, as though his mission is alert the world to the destruction of its prelude as botanical and cultural resources has taken possession of him. "I believe that this century will be remembered not for its worst technological innovations," he declares, "but for the massive destruction of both biological and cultural diversity." And he drives his argument home with an impressive list of facts: "There were some 15,000 languages spoken on the planet, each one a unique flash of the human spirit. Now there's six or seven thousand in another century. Linguists tell us, there'll only be 300."

That, really, captures the essence of Davis's vision. His entire career as an author, lecturer, television writer and international consultant on ecological issues has been dedicated to stopping the relentless reduction of the wild world and its inhabitants—or what is left of them—into the standardized monotony of Western consumer culture. But unlike most people who take up this cause, Davis knows more at the winning culture and places destroyed. One of his strongest links of *One River* is its evocation of South American native tribes whose names—Wuarani, Guahibo, Guaraní, Cubato, Igapo and many others—run through the text like a poem to human diversity. Davis has lived with several of these peoples,

learned to their shamanic ("I never met a shaman who isn't somewhat psychotic—that's his job," he comments) and even sampled the hallucinogenics on their terms, the basis of their religious life. Such experience has its dangers; a number of Davis's colleagues have died in the field. He himself has been sick with malaria, and hepatitis and pollen lost more than once, but he believes that "you have to develop, even at the point of being naive, a kind of blood faith in the benevolence of the world. You have to see yourself on its mercy."

That openness gives his writing a peculiar edge. His evocations of the rainforest, where the air "is a thick brownness," are remarkable, but his descriptions of native cultures is even better. Writing of Torao, a Wuarani hunter, Davis recalls the extraordinary skills he has learned in his youth, including being able to urinate vertically every time he is in the forest. Later, he follows him as a hunting expedition during which Torao suddenly falls a hard in a single blur of movement that awakes him on a position flat, ensuring it is his legs and hitting his quarry through a screen of leaves.

It's very complex and unique, whose existence exists life as a whole. Davis thinks that you Schultze is very well, though he admits that, with his early dry and practical personality, Schultze was not much inclined to philosophic speculation. Those photos last winter among such great British botanists in Schultze's own home, Richard Spruce, a traveler in the Amazon during the last century. Davis believes such men were able to confront their isolation in the wild only by wearing cultural blinders. "Schultze was the last of the great, European-style explorers—botanists, fireflies, the collectors. Darwin's plants," said in order to get to know him, he went down those rivers in a sort of bubble of his own reality. I think that's why Schultze only got colors," Davis adds, referring to his mentor's failure to experience any solid reasons while sampling hallucinogens in the field.

Schultze liked to travel alone, or with a single Indian guide, bring all the land and at night reading from the volumes of Huxley and Virgil he carried in his knapsack. He seemed comfortable in such isolation, but it came to an end when the United States declared war on Japan. One of Davis's most compelling chapters—the second took him two years to research—tells the forgotten story of how Schultze was hired by the U.S. government to search the Amazon basin for blight-resistant rubber trees. With the Japanese conquest of Malaysia and its huge rubber plantations (which yielded virtually all the world's rubber), the Allies needed an alternative supply. Working with hired crews, Schultze found it for them along the banks of the Amazon. But the new plantations that resulted were abandoned after the War—a mad-on-Washington bureaucratic decision that not only destroyed Schultze's project, but, according to Davis, left a "swarm of *Danaius*" haunting above the industrial world. Unlike the hardy trees Schultze selected, the Malaysian plantations are vulnerable to acts of biological terrorism: the introduction of a few species of blight could wipe them out—and with them, the world's main source of natural rubber, a crucial component of radial tires and other products.

Davis, who is married to artist and anthropologist Gill Perry, with whom he has two young daughters—told one story to write *One River*, and feels that he has now said everything he wants to about South America. He is currently at work on a new book, *Shreds of Darwin*, inspired by 20 years of recollecting the stories told to him by a Guahibo elder in northwestern British Columbia. Davis and his family, who live part of the year in Washington, also own a hunting and fishing lodge in British Columbia's remote Skeena Valley. "I consider that place home," Davis says. "We try to spend at least two months of the year there." That is difficult, because Davis is constantly on the go. Besides giving the public lectures that supply most of his income, he is the vice-president of a new biotech drug company, *Aestas Pharmaceuticals*. But for all his worldly success, Davis remains a nomad, if at ease with what he calls "the sadness of the 20th century. I was born in the wrong time," he adds. "A hundred and fifty years ago you could travel anywhere, and the world was still primitive." He still goes away whenever he can to spend time among shamanic people—with whom, he points out, he has much in common. He goes to a place. You have to dance the rhythm of the other culture in a way that can never be taught. It's a matter of practice and respect and a willingness to sit beside them on the story ground." □



A Canadian botanist makes a plea to preserve disappearing worlds

Although trained as a scientist—under Schultze, Davis eventually earned his PhD in ethnobotany, a discipline that studies the links between plants and human cultures—Davis embraces a wider, more holistic view. That saves *One River* from the microcosmic that afflicts many disinterested of the rainforest, who argue that it should be saved because it may be a source of future pharmaceuticals, or because it is the "green lungs of the planet." While Davis certainly agrees with such points, the very richness of his book presents a much deeper, less utilitarian insight, the van forest and its people should be preserved because they are a miracle of creation, unbe-

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BOOKS

The private passion

Why reading is as essential as breathing

A HISTORY OF READING

By Alberto Mangú
(Knopf/Canada, 372 pages, \$36)

When Alberto Mangú was a teenager in Buenos Aires, he would occasionally read in the evenings to the blind Jorge Luis Borges. The celebrated Argentine writer was restricted to Mangú's tale and explaining to him the meaning of a book. It was arranged in chronological sequence, "not in its logical and natural order." It was a remark taken to heart. The origin of writing in ancient Sumeria 4,300 years ago is discussed in *A History of Reading*, but not until halfway through Mangú's magic combination of his personal history with books and absorbing anecdotes about famous readers eventually touches on every aspect of reading, but never in a straight line. Reading is cumulative, argues Mangú, 48 and now a Canadian citizen, and "each new reading builds upon what the reader has read before." So Chaucer dominates Proust, and Johnson brings clarity to Whitman in Mangú's wide-ranging history.

Mangú, by his own admission, finds reading as essential as breathing. And if in his enthusiasm he sometimes seems to equate being literate with being happy, he has some excuse. For reading is not. Literacy probably began for commercial purposes, keeping track of individual property, but through its ability to keep the past alive, it probably became the nucleus of culture and religion.

One of Mangú's early priorities is a discussion of the science of how we read. He concludes, persuasively, that we do not passively absorb writing, but engage it. A literary response, a mental reconstruction. Reading, in fact, may be as complicated a neurological activity as thinking itself. And just as personal: It is readers, not writ-

ers, who give the text meaning, who make visible "that which writing suggests in hints and shadows."

The author's ramblings on the distinction between reading and listening leads Mangú to the ancient world, when the two activities were more closely combined. In his *Codexes*, St. Augustine records his astonishment at the sight of St. Ambrose reading silently. Reading alone and explaining to make of reading a conversation with an absent partner was the norm in the West until the 18th century. And the monumental change in reading habit was much more



Illustration: *Becket's Supper*
Conversation (1555) - ashmolean

than a matter of literary style. Texts upon texts about are, certainly, proper, subject to immediate correction or condemnation. Silent reading is private reading, and both church and state have historically found it subversive.

A History of Reading ranges all over time and space, here quoted from a 1306 Florentine sermon celebrating the 35 years of reading glasses (one of the great useful devices in the world), there describing how 19th-century workers in Cuban cigar factories paid out of their own earnings for a reader to copy and entertain them while they worked. Alexander Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo* was so popular with one group that they named one of their most famous products after its hero.

The final chapter is an archly detailed description of "the book I have written" entitled, yes, *A History of Reading*. It is Mangú's not-so-subtle means of showing the extreme subjectivity of his topic. But it is unnecessary. The book he did write, his erudite, considerate and altogether beguiling study of an abiding human passion, proves his point—the history of reading is the history of each reader.

BRIAN BETHUNE



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BOOKS

A daughter's valentine

Linda Frum reveals some of Barbara's secrets

**BARBARA FRUM:
A DAUGHTER'S MEMOIR**
By Linda Frum
(Random House, 267 pages,
\$29.95)

Barbara Frum was the mother of all Canadian broadcasters. During the decade she hosted CBC TV's *The Journal* (1982-1992), she asked tough questions of newsmen from St. John's to Johannesburg. Her clothes were often as daring as her guests. And for many Canadians, Frum was the last person they saw before facing life or death. Her signature closing for interviews, "Thanks for this," wasn't it was just about time to close your teeth and turn out the lights. When Frum died 4 1/2 years ago, at the age of 54, public broadcasting lost its most dogged interviewer and viewers lost a Canadian icon—but Linda Frum lost her mother. In her new book, *Barbara Frum: A Daughter's Memoir*, Linda reports on the story the fiercely private Barbara fought to keep out of the press for 35-year battle with leukemia, which was diagnosed in 1974, three years after she began hosting CBC Radio's *An Hour*.

Understandably for a memoir written by a daughter who seems stunned by her famous mother, the book is more biography than history. Quotations from friends have been so meticulously selected for their flattery that it seems they make the complex Barbara seem one-dimensional. And there are some glaring omissions: Mary Lou Fitzgibbon, who co-hosted *The Journal* with Barbara for the first two years, gets one brief mention, far less than the broadcaster's pet pooch, Dora.

Still, the memoir is fascinating for what it does reveal. Just months before she died, Barbara found (correctly) that the CBC was planning to axe *The Journal*. As well, the book gives away Barbara's secret of interviewing "Give us five minutes as possible to ask your questions, then get out of the way."

On a personal level, the book answers what may have been Barbara's greatest disappointment. In 1988, she and her husband



From she discovers the mother she never had enough of

Manning, a wealthy real estate developer, adopted a year-old Iranian baby, Matthew, who ended up leaving the family after years of trouble with the law. Linda credits her brother as a blot on the family's otherwise impeccable resume. He is not mentioned until the latter half of the book, and is never quoted. Barbara would have hated the way her son is treated here—but trademark was to get both sides of the story.

Linda once said that she wrote the book more as a catharsis than to discover. But no daughter could take on the task of writing her mother's biography without uncovering some painful truths. For Linda, the pain comes not only in remembering the mother she lost, but in discovering the mother she

never had enough of. Although Barbara adored her family, she couldn't bear her limitations of domestic life. She did not do washdays—or dishes, it was easy for her to choose the buzz of the newsmag over the politics of the PDA. "There was the bargain," Linda writes. "In exchange for an interesting childhood, we would get loss of her."

As a result, Linda, Matthew and eldest child David, a political author and neoconservative activist, were raised by a succession of live-in housekeepers while Barbara spent much of her free time watching everyone else. She was well-known for calling and consulting friends and helping out people in need. At the CBC she made it her business to know everyone else's, the mark of a great reporter.

It is the family hierarchy. Marjorie came first, David was the apple of Barbara's eye. Linda, the youngest, much as Barbara resented having been, "like a prize plant." That could not have been easy for Linda, who at times cannot forgive her birth. "My mother made some major mistakes," she writes. "Mistakes you and my brother are determined not to make."

The writer does not blame her mother's legendary curiosity or singular abilities for taking her away from home. Instead, in a rare book, she blames her mother. "She had to prove that she could subordinate her parental instinct as an occupant as any man. Not merely to the satisfaction of the critic reviewing male chauvinists, but to the more ruthless judges—her feminist colleagues." Linda would have readers believe that if Barbara had her life to live over, she would have rejected her career and spent more time at home. It hardly seems likely Barbara came to her death in the 1970s, well before it had a cause or because a social revolution. It was a gift from her powerful American

mother, Florence, who recalls having raised her baby daughter like "a Philadelphia lawyer... she couldn't bend a muscle that wasn't subject to scrutiny."

This book is already subject to similar scrutiny. Unlike writer Nancy Klein, who has blown apart the book's claim that Barbara recognized her "small liberal" feelings and became a right-winger after being swayed by son David. It is hard to know whether Barbara would have enjoyed this public debate. Although she was a strong person, she would surely have resented anyone—especially her daughter—presuming to know exactly what was in her independent mind.

JANE O'HARA



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BOOKS

Nights of the living dead

An elegiac but witty tale explores a brother's loss

LAST SEEN

By Matt Colera
West Canada, 212 pages, \$28.95

A couple of months after his brother, Andy, died of cancer in 1985, now 41st Dist. Colton looked himself in the mirror about a very odd meeting he took place between two brothers, one living, one a ghost, who ran into each other in a cemetery. Details first frequented by Dan Brown. "It was such a delicate subject, especially for me, because my first job had to write about Colton," says Colton, 33, recalling how he stumbled into the subject of his late brother's new novel, *Lost Soul*. "But I never thought I was starting a book. I was just so obsessed with my brother's death that I really couldn't walk on any other life."

Cohen previously complained about 40 pages of the *Club Diva* essays—and then he reconsidered them to the point of allowing projects that accumulate on his way writer's desk. Then in the fall of 1993, he had lunch with his editor at Knopf/Canada Louise Drumpf. She told him that the *Club Diva* was going to be published in 1994 and the two were trying to decide what his next project should be. "The *Club Diva* thing was very quickly at the bottom of the list," Cohen recalls. "I decided I would go ahead with a completely different book." But when Cohen got home, he pulled out the *Club* pages and went back to work on them. Says the income author: "I guess the part of me that decides that's in power."



College grad. learning and life experiences

ants is not the same one that sits down to write the books."

Two and a half years of waiting and re-writing still lay ahead. As the Elton engineers spawned new fragments, Cohen kept shedding his pages, trying to find a combination that would bring his tale to life. (Here, a particularly *hilarious* storyteller: he once created a short story by combining all the rejected beginnings that filled his waste basket.) By the spring of this year, *Last Tango in Paris* had taken its final form. Mirovine and Tru-

clearly living, it may well be the best of the Toronto writer's 12 novels. It has garnered glowing reviews, including one from Margaret Atwood, and should help make Calvo a popular draw when he reads at Toronto's International Festival of Authors in Oct. 21.

Last *Five* brings a headily light touch to heavy matters. The opening of the book depicts Harold Cosentino's struggle with spreading lung cancer—and with the pain he anticipates as he lies on his back, writing up his final card. This is clearly no laughing matter, and yet Harold's struggle to get up off the bathroom floor (he has fallen between the toilet and the wall while trying to insert his contact lenses) has a bit of slapstick about them—just enough to give buoyancy to the scene and underline a little of his humor.

Meanwhile, Harold's older brother, Alec, is being hunted in London over Harold's sad image. A writer he is a Woody Allen-style intellectual who combines a well-meaning nerdliness with a deeply intelligent appreciation of life's ironies. He is also hopelessly in love with Harold's lover and nurse, Francine. When Harold dies, and the despondent Alec discovers his very lifeline ghost in the Club Elton, Francine is there too—a semi-supernatural figure, it seems, a staple for men's souls in an underworld of grief and longing.

Although more than 200 pages long, *Last Love* is as snugly constructed as a short story by its frequent time shifts and assemblages between first- and third-person narrations that turn it into a kaleidoscopic study of the complexities of brotherly love and family, as well as the sometimes absurd powers of coming to terms with mortality. It is a subtle demonstration that death is not something waiting at the end of life, but a presence woven into the texture of every moment.

JOHN B. MURPHY

Writers and a literary love-in

In an age of endless electronic distraction—TV, home videos and the Internet—the success of literary festivals seems improbable. During an authorreading, a solitary writer reads a bare stage and reads a passage from his or her work. For 20 minutes or more, audiences are swept away by a Quebec novelist, a Czech poet or a British mystery writer. They laugh, clap and then line up to get autographs and rub shoulders with the literati.

come a lively part of Canadian cultural life, with Toronto, Vancouver and smaller cities regularly hosting them. But the largest, the oldest and the most internationally inclusive event is Toronto's International Festival of Authors, which launched its 17th extravaganza last week. "You're in the company of people who share the sensual and intellectual pleasures brought by fiction—the shameless, skin-blinging pleasure that a book can give you," says author-director

Greg Gatenby "That's something you can't get from the book tube."

Mirre seem to agree. By its second night, the festival had already reached its target of selling 65 per cent of the tickets, and promised to exceed last year's total of 12,000 people who attended readings, onstage interviews and talks by biographers. The 11-day program, kicked off with tributes to novelist Timothy Findley and poet Al Purdy, includes 63 writers from 22 countries ranging from Austria to Zimbabwe. The event will feature 54 interviews, official such as press confer-

partings as Montecarlo Mendoza-Richer chatting with Manitoba-born, Paris-based Marie Gelland and political pundit Richard Gwyn talking with South African André Brink. Gelfand ensures that his guests learn about Canada: "We take them to Niagara Falls, drink local cheddar and give them a lesson as to why we're Canadians by showing them bottle sales of the War of 1812." Tour guide and tireless organizer, Gelfand knows how to spread the word onstage and off.

DANIE TURNER

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Theatre

Fridamania

Who or what is Frida Kahlo: (a) a deceased Mexican painter, (b) an icon, or (c) a cult figure?

The answer, of course, is that Kahlo is all three. During most of her short and painful life (1907-1955), her boldly colored surrealist paintings received little recognition in her native Mexico, where her reputation was overshadowed by that of her husband, muralist Diego Rivera. But with her death at age 47, her stock began to climb. In 1991, her self-portrait *Me with My Cat* fetched \$2.25 million at Christie's, at that time the most ever paid for a Latin American work. Undoubtedly, the rush on her art has had as much to do with the mystique surrounding the maven-haired artist as with her talent. Her courageous achievement in the face of her many physical trials (even child-head pins to bring her a trolley car to cerebral operations on her spine), and her refusal to be crushed by the capitalist and abusive Rivera, have made her a heroine to feminists and others looking for emblematic female defiance in a boys-only world. "Frida-

man" has spawned several biographies and even a Frida Kahlo cookbook. Meanwhile Madonna, who has described Kahlo as "my obsession and my inspiration," wants to make a film about the painter, starring herself.

Almost predictably, there is a play about Kahlo, too. *Frida K.*, a one-woman show featuring the dynamic Canadian actress Alegra Feltus, enjoyed a smash premiere two years ago at Toronto's Fringe Festival. Hundreds of Kahlo—and theatre—lovers had to be turned away, so the show was mounted again last year at the city's Tarragon Theatre. Now, Tarragon is staging it again, before sending it on to Ottawa's Great Canadian Theatre Company (Nov. 26-Dec. 7). Written by Feltus's mother, Gloria Masters, as a 30th birthday present for the actress, the play catches Kahlo in her home in 1953, the year before her death. Knocking back pills and arm-twisting about her life, she

Feltus also tells the stage with the features of Kahlo's persona



slowly drowns herself in preparation for the first Mexican showing of her work. Montero's script lacks the sort of biting, original detail that could lift it to the level of art that Feltus, brilliantly directed by Peter Blanton, still manages to achieve significance from every word, filling the stage with the firestorm of Kahlo's passion. If Masters ever gets her nose off the ground, she should hire Feltus to play the lead: the Canadian could do it better.

JOHN BENDROSE

the hostess was fluent in languages rare. But her style spoke the loudest of all gathered there.

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Kevin (left), *Brother*, a concept album with a little help from some musical friends

Songs of freedom

PINE RIDGE
Harvey Arlatte
(Rivers)

Michael Ondaatje offers back passion. Considered for a cause, usually some environmental or human rights issue, they tend to contain previously recorded material—and to show more good intentions than real commitment. *Pine Ridge*, a project in support of the imprisoned American Ojibwa Sioux activist Leonard Peltier, is different. The headline of Blue Rodeo's Greg Keeler, the album features new material by such top Canadians as The Tragically Hip, Jane Siberry and Sarah McLachlan, as well as seven songs written specifically for the album. And its notes contain an open letter to Justice Minister Allan Rock, urging him to pressure the U.S. government to release Peltier, now 50.

The case of Peltier, sentenced in 1977 to two consecutive life sentences for the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents in Pine Ridge, S.D., has a long and controversial history, including his extradition from Canada—where he had fled after being charged—with what are now known to be fabricated affidavits. Keeler decided to put together the benefit album one night in February in a Toronto music hall of all places. There, in the mind, he met Bruce Dickinson, head of the loosely based Leonard Peltier Defense Committee. Coincidentally Keeler was reading three books related to Peltier at the time: inspired, he enlisted support from musical friends as well as writer

Michael Ondaatje, now his English professor at York University. Each artist agreed to donate material, and Warner Music advanced money for the production costs. All the profits go to Peltier's committee. "Peltier's been in jail for over 20 years for a crime even the FBI admits he didn't commit," says Keeler. "This was a chance for Canadians to help free an innocent man."

Kicked off by McLachlan's stirring adaptation of Unlabeled Melody, *Pine Ridge* roves through live renditions of songs by Siberry and The Tragically Hip, before Ondaatje offers a moving segment from his novel *The Englishman's Boy* that deals with a fugitive urban leader. One of the most politically pointed contributions comes from Keeler's Blue Rodeo partner Jim Cuddy, who provides the track, *Blowin' Smoking Gun*. But the album's centerpiece is Keeler's epic title track. Although a little corny at nearly 10 minutes, the song covers the case in entire chronology in style, ranging from straight-ahead country and folk rock to surreal ambient music. And when he sings "this is a song of freedom," Keeler gives Peltier into a powerful symbol of political justice.

A WORM'S LIFE
Crash Test Dummies
(BMG)

The third album by Winnipeg septuagets the Crash Test Dummies further explores the perverse pop anatomy of Brad Roberts, the group's singer and songwriter. As on their previous releases, Roberts re-

mains preoccupied with questions about life, death and God. And with its gloriously raucous scenarios of lewd intimacies, rotting organs and embossed birds in clematomes, *A Worm's Life* verges on a satirical counterpart to *Mad* magazine. What elevates it above juvenilia is Roberts's sense of humor and clever lyrics in such rambles as *My Own Secret*, which deals with the belated responsibility of a man's penis parts to Roberts's body, even the odd, slinky creature of the title track, with its spaghetti western-style backing, become plausible subject matter.

GULLIVER'S TAXI
Murray McLauchlan
(True North/SAGA)

One of Canada's most enduring songwriters, Murray McLauchlan has crafted tunes about growing up and growing old, about high rollers and down-and-outers, for more than a quarter-century. Through it all, the Toronto singer has combined compassion with a fine eye for gritty detail. On his 10th album, *Gulliver's Taxi*, McLauchlan has teamed up with other songwriters including Joni Mitchell's Tim Wilson and the album's co-producer, Barney Bentall. The results are startlingly good. *Born on the 1st of May*, written with Wilson, is a heart-breaking lament for the homeless, while the Bonad McLauchlan composition *Disappearing* is a tender paean to lost youth. The album's most moving number is the hit-making *Secret*, written with Ron Hynes, about an unfairly played stranger's reluctant emigration to the mainland. "This is getting nowhere," says McLauchlan over a soaring guitar whine, "he's getting to me." A gifted composer in his own right, McLauchlan is finding a new eloquence in collaboration.

CREATURE
Moose
(BMG)

Along with Sloan and The Tes Party, *Moosed* is a hot young Conflick property, a hard-hitting debut album. 1994's *Silver*, has sold nearly 400,000 copies in its native land alone. For the much-anticipated follow-up, *Creature*, Moose continues with its successful formula of brooding songs built around pulsing, melodic soundscapes. On the new album, the band—which has relocated from Vancouver to Montreal—lays with contrasting dynamics, shifting from subtle lows to full-throated highs through David's whisper-to-scream vocals. But apart from the instantly memorable *Love It Alone*, there's nothing as catchy as *Believe Me*, Silver's controversial song about suicide. Call it the sophomore jump, but Moose on this record seems barely damp.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

thursday

Allan Fotheringham



The newest best city in the world

There was a wonderful first page last week in *The Toronto Star*, the tabloid that denotes pride. I only to massive headlines and great color pictures. "METRO BEST CITY IN WORLD," one side of the page screamed. Alongside was a dramatic shot of a cop wrestling a suspect to the ground while a colleague in blue stoned a large rifle in his hand.

Whether this was meant as satire, or the photo editor had gone out to lunch while they wrote the headline, is unclear. It doesn't matter, since Toronto cannot contain itself over the news that *Forbes* magazine has decided that Toronto—the stag-out London, Paris and Hong Kong—the finest city in the world outside the United States.

This would indicate that *Forbes* has the same sense of humor as those gay guys who craft the *Star*'s front pages. Would this be the same sophisticated Toronto where you have to go to one establishment to buy your lunch and find another building somewhere where they will beer? Yup. That's *Forbes*'s Toronto.

The same city where they will hold a King Billy parade every year, celebrating the Protestant victory over the Catholics in some religious war far across the ocean some centuries back? Yes, that would be the burg that has London and Paris struck into shock and humiliation.

Or would this be the city that is so shiny it holds its massive Santa Claus Parade two months before Christmas, so as to vacuum every bit of commerce it can before it will be devastated in July?

All we can promise is that *Forbes* is not giving us selling too many cages in Paris, which has the best food in the world, or London, which has the best newspapers in the world. Toronto is the three-episode-month and *Forbes* must be seriously looking for circulation, if only in the Hudson Bay press, as the Canadian back is known as Will Street.

Toronto is unique, we must admit. It is the only large city in the world that *Forbes* (Toronto) calls on a lake. Bobs are born in Toronto, to arrive up and die and go to their graves. Bobs are seen near Lake Ontario. This has been cleverly arranged by placing a pocket-deer of overhead freeway and concrete couple caves that successfully render the water invisible.



All the great cities on the globe are built around water. You cannot travel anywhere in London without having to cross the broad Thames. A Parisian has to cross a bridge over the Seine every 10 minutes to get around town. The busy Tiber winds through Rome. Hong Kong has the most spectacular harbor in the world, created only by Vancouver. Most truly is as stated, surrounded by the mighty St. Lawrence.

Toronto, the newest best city in the world, could be in London, New York, such as its appearance of the beauty of large expanses of water, which is nothing to the sea—and very necessary.

The problem with the newest best city in the world is that there is nothing to look at. It is flat and flat is boring. The only unadorned in the landscape are the rivers, which carry earned creeks or streams down to the lake.

Some roads are placed at the bottom of these rivers and provide pleasant, tree-filled streets below the usual city surface of endless pavement. So in Toronto, the best city in the world, you have to go down to look up for a pleasure for the eye. It is clear the editors of *Forbes* spent a lot of time covering in the rivers of a city that is actually under the lake.

Toronto in its downtown core has a vast mass of underground tunnels connecting all the major towers. You can exit down there for days, never having to wear your fat coat—disasters, ships, earthquakes—either like a glacier in a plateau. This is a city that is ashamed of rising to the surface and the daylight, for fear of glancing the horizon landscape.

There are many other delights to the city that need to be called Toronto the Good and has merely evolved into the National Hockey League. Its city cannot possibly voted to have all roads watered wearing bulletproof vests and gun masks. It was considered an improvement.

Toronto has not had a major for two decades that even a close relative would recognize walking down the street. Maple Leaf Gardens, once the mecca of hockey, is now the silent and crumbling building in the National Hockey League. It contains a hockey team almost as old and certainly in decay.

Toronto, the best city in the world, is ignored in Ottawa. The largest and richest city in Canada, it has only one heavyweight (slightly) of the cabinet table in the cabinet, despite having provided 98 of Ontario's 98 federal seats to the Liberals last time around. A just controversy, Deputy Dave Collette, having been relieved of his past association for snacking up the military best, has just been revealed as porching out \$200,000 in "contracts" to Liberal friends in his riding.

Toronto will grow up some day that a rival in London, Paris or the Ho



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top image



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